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THE DECLARATION OF INDULGENCE

THE DECLARATION OF INDULGENCE

1672

A STUDY IN THE RISE
OF ORGANISED DISSENT

BY

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WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY

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PUBLISHED FOR THE UNIVERSITY PRESS OF LIVERPOOL
BY ARCHIBALD CONSTABLE AND CO. LTD., 10 ORANGE
STREET, LONDON, W.C. 1908

S.B.N. - GB: 576.78508.3

Republished in 1968 by Gregg International Publishers Limited
1 Westmead, Farnborough, Hants., England.

Printed in England

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4413
3316d
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PREFACE

THE history of religious controversy during the reign of Charles II is at once fascinating and of great importance. Including as it does, the settlement of the Church of England on its present basis, the first definite secession from its ranks, and the many attempts at comprehensive toleration, it affords ample scope for historical research. Here, it has only been possible to touch upon one part of the history, viz., the attitude of King and Parliament towards Protestant dissent from 1660 to the final attempt on the part of Charles to secure toleration by the Declaration of Indulgence in 1672.

The subject has by no means been left untouched by previous writers. Most writers upon this period of religious history, particularly Neal and Stoughton, have much to say concerning the policy of Charles II. All, however, leave much to be done. Neal, though surprisingly accurate and trustworthy, was without many sources of information now thrown open to the historical student. Stoughton, though more fortunate, lacked such valuable stores of information as the later Calendars of State Papers and the Historical Manuscript Commission Reports. Further, the attitude of previous writers—one of keen suspicion towards the King's toleration policy—is, we contend, without substantial ground. Charles may or may not have been a Roman Catholic: we for our part are convinced that he was not. The Declaration of Indulgence was the natural outcome of the consistent policy of Charles, to secure a reasonable toleration for Roman Catholics, to whom he felt in honour pledged, and incidentally for Protestant dissenters, for whose sufferings he, in reality, cared little. In any case, he had not the slightest intention, despite the apparently damning evidence afforded by the secret Treaty of Dover, of imposing Roman Catholicism upon an unwilling people.

The illustrations have been drawn as far as possible from Lancashire, though unfortunately the materials for that county are not very accessible. Moreover, for the first time, a complete list of licences issued in connection with the declaration has been compiled, and will be found in an Appendix.

This essay, which was submitted to the University of Oxford for the degree of B.Litt., was written while the

author was holding, from the University of Liverpool, a research scholarship, and later a fellowship. He would here acknowledge how much he owes to the University in this city, not only for an education, but also for most generous help. It would be ungracious not to mention the great kindness, ready help, and sympathy given to him by Professor Firth, Professor Mackay, Professor Muir, and Mr. A. L. Smith.

LIVERPOOL, 1908

INTRODUCTION

A NEW BOOK on a well-worn subject requires some explanation, and it is easier for an outsider to make it than for the author himself to undertake the task. The ecclesiastical history of the reign of Charles II has been dealt with at length by many writers, and yet, in spite of their labours, there are still many points in it which demand further elucidation, and there is much evidence bearing upon the subject which those writers did not utilise. Some of that evidence is new, that is, it has been printed during the last twenty or thirty years only, or still remains in manuscript. But there is also much contemporary printed evidence which either has not been employed hitherto or has been but slightly and imperfectly examined.

One of the merits of Mr. Bate's book consists in the attempt he makes to combine the new evidence which has recently come to light with the older evidence which has been but partially studied. The bare facts of a period by themselves are often unintelligible or ambiguous. An historian who wishes to make the course of events plain to his readers must not confine himself merely to the task of narrating what happened. He must also explain to them why things happened. In order to understand the facts, it is necessary to realise the conditions which make the facts possible, the feelings and ideas which produced the actions related. Nothing shows the temper of a generation better than its light literature. Reading the ballads and pamphlets quoted by Mr. Bate, we realise how great the unpopularity of the Nonconformists was at the moment when Charles II recovered his crown (see pp. 25, 35, 42). The tide ran so strongly against Presbyterianism, Independency, and Puritanism in general, that arguments for toleration or comprehension, whether they were based on religious or political considerations, fell upon deaf ears, and those who advocated the policy of enforcing conformity at all costs felt themselves supported by public opinion when they urged extreme measures. Mr. Bate has done well in seeking to trace and to illustrate the growth of public opinion by using a kind of evidence which ecclesiastical historians as a rule either overlook or disdain.

At the same time, as his pages show, he has made good use both of the printed and unprinted correspondence of representative Churchmen and leading Nonconformists. Archbishop Sheldon's letters in the Bodleian, those of other bishops preserved amongst the Tanner MSS. in the same library, the correspondence of Richard Baxter in the Williams Library, the collections of Kennet and similar sources in the British Museum, have all been laid under contribution. The Reports of the *Historical Manuscripts Commission*, which continually supplement the *Calendars of Domestic State Papers*, have also yielded much new material. To extract and put in order the scattered items of information which such published or unpublished manuscript collections contain, and to utilise it in the shape of monographs on particular portions of English history, is one of the tasks which the younger generation of English historians should undertake. Without such preliminary studies the task of the general historian is impossible, because he has no sure foundation to build upon. Monographs such as the present are therefore of the greatest value to historians, while at the same time they are the best training for historical students.

Another source which needs to be utilised for general historical purposes is the collections of documents published by the many historical societies founded for the study of the local history of towns, districts, or counties. For social and economic history these provide a mass of evidence of the most valuable character, but at the same time of so miscellaneous a nature that the task of sifting and arranging the facts they contain requires the labour of many hands. Here again the author of a monograph can usefully co-operate with the general historian, and can give him indispensable assistance.

Mr. Bate has been well advised in making a special study of the publications of the Chetham Society, and other materials for Lancashire history, and in using them to illustrate the practical working of the legislation directed against the Nonconformists. At the same time he has collected a certain number of unpublished documents relating to Nonconformity in Lancashire, and printed them for the benefit of local historians.

There are two tasks which students of the history of Nonconformity during the reign of Charles II should undertake. One is a revised edition of Calamy's *Nonconformists' Memorial*, testing the statements of the original by the new evidence which has come to light since the publication of Palmer's edition in 1803, and fixing the number of the ministers ejected at the Restoration and by the Act of Uniformity in 1662, paying special attention to the date at

which the ejection of each took place, and the reasons to which it was due. In Appendix II, Mr. Bate discusses the question, and comes to the conclusion that between May, 1660, and St. Bartholomew's Day, 1662, about 450 ministers were ejected, and that at St. Bartholomew's Day about 1,800 were turned out. This is a higher estimate than that arrived at by Dr. Stoughton (*Church of the Restoration*, ii. 538, ed. 1870), and agrees very closely with Baxter's contemporary estimate of the number expelled in 1662. Much, however, remains to be done by local researches before trustworthy figures can be arrived at.

The second task which needs doing is to trace the history of the development of Nonconformity in particular districts. Much has been done in this respect by Urwick and other investigators, and in some of the papers recently published in the *Transactions of the Congregational History Society*. Towards this object Mr. Bate contributes, in Appendix VII, a most useful and necessary assistance in the shape of a double list of the licences for preachers and places of worship issued in accordance with the Declaration of Indulgence. A list of this kind is the foundation for further local researches, and it should stimulate Nonconformists to undertake them for all those districts in which the history of the organisation of their churches has been imperfectly treated or neglected. The documents upon which this list is based are summarised in the *Calendar of Domestic State Papers* for 1672-3, and Mr. Blackburne-Daniel, in his introductions, has carefully put together the results in tabular form, but hitherto the information contained has not been accessible outside those volumes, and its publication in a separate and a more convenient form is a boon to students.

This study of the Declaration of Indulgence brings out very clearly its great importance in the ecclesiastical history of England. It was the culmination of a series of efforts on the part of Charles II to keep the promises made in the Declaration of Breda, and though the King failed to procure parliamentary sanction for the policy it indicated, and was obliged to cancel the Declaration, its results were permanent. Sir John Reresby describes it as "the greatest blow that ever was given, since the King's restoration, to the Church of England: all sectaries by this means repairing publicly to their meetings and conventicles, insomuch that all the laws and care of their execution against these separatists afterwards, could never bring them back to due conformity." (*Memoirs*, ed. Cartwright, p. 86.) The two or three years' breathing space it secured gave the Nonconformists an opportunity to organise themselves and recover the ground

they had lost during the period of rigid repression. Henceforth they were too strong for repressive measures to be successful in putting them down. The fact that so many dissenting congregations existing at the present day "date their formation and their continuous life from Charles the Second's Declaration of Indulgence," proves what its result really was. It is for that reason that this episode in the reign of Charles II, which is often passed by lightly as if it merely represented one of the many fluctuations of his policy, deserves the minute and scientific study Mr. Bate has given it.

Every monograph of this kind, however, is inevitably somewhat one-sided. However impartial in his treatment the author may be—however critical in his estimate of evidence, and however fair in his conclusions—since he has to narrate only a part of the ecclesiastical history of England, and to limit his view to one aspect of it, he can only state a part of the truth. The reaction which followed the Restoration cannot be fairly judged unless the legislation of the twenty years of revolution which preceded it is taken into account. The persecution of the Anglican clergy and the proscription of the liturgy of the Church of England should be borne in mind in estimating the causes of the oppressive enactments directed against the Nonconformists. Neither Anglicans nor Nonconformists in the day of their power recognised the rights of conscience, or refrained from the attempt to enforce conformity to their doctrines by political disabilities and legal penalties. It is true that in both parties there were men whose voices were raised in favour of toleration, and toleration with certain important limitations had become the avowed policy of one section amongst the Nonconformists. But that policy was discredited by its association with militarism, and by the constant recourse to military force to establish and maintain it. This was inevitable. To Englishmen in general the idea of liberty of conscience was unfamiliar, and even repellent. There was no room for it in minds full of the idea of a national church and dominated by recollections of the Tudor Reformation. The views of all sections of Protestant Englishmen as to the lawfulness of coercion in matters of religion, and the extent to which parliaments or kings might compel men to believe or to conform, had been perverted by the habit of persecuting the Catholics. They had learnt to hold that any legal measures were lawful against the adherents of an erroneous or dangerous creed, and the penal code of Elizabeth and James I had supplied them with precedents for any methods of oppression which they wished to exercise against each other. Historians of the French Revolution have often

pointed out that the laws passed by the revolutionists against emigrés, suspects and priests, were but a reproduction of the laws against the Huguenots enacted by the French monarchy. There is a similar phenomenon in the ecclesiastical legislation of England during the seventeenth century. English Puritans had helped to sharpen the weapons which later were directed against themselves.

The investigator, if his researches are to be fruitful, is forced to confine them to a limited period of time or a definite series of facts, but the reader who wishes equitably to judge the men or the events of a particular age, must take a wider view, and look both before and after. Looking at the fifteen years of ecclesiastical history narrated by Mr. Bate from this general point of view, we shall not be inclined to wonder that the Nonconformists were persecuted, or that it was difficult for them to obtain the toleration which seems to the twentieth century reader an elementary and self-evident natural right. Nor shall we be inclined to blame too harshly the unwise of the Parliament, which, after all, could not be much wiser or more humane than the men it represented, nor to condemn those statesmen who attempted to establish some measure of religious freedom by means of the prerogative instead of by means of Parliament.

C. H. FIRTH

CONTENTS

Preface	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	v
Introduction	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	ix
CHAPTER I												
Attempts at Toleration.—The Restoration to the Act of Uniformity...												
i												
CHAPTER II												
The Bartholomew Ejections												
25												
CHAPTER III												
Attempts at Toleration.—The Act of Uniformity to the Fall of												
Clarendon												
36												
CHAPTER IV												
Attempts at Toleration.—Fall of Clarendon to the Declaration												
56												
CHAPTER V												
The Declaration of Indulgence												
76												
CHAPTER VI												
The Withdrawal of the Declaration												
106												
CHAPTER VII												
The Recall of the Licences ...												
130												
APPENDICES												
APPENDIX I—Petition and thanks, 1660												
„	II—Numbers of the ejected											
„	III—Form of ejection											
„	IV—Conventicles in Lancashire, 1669											
„	V—Petitions from Lancashire, 1672											
„	VI—Forms of licences, 1672											
„	VII—List of licences, 1762-3											

The Declaration of Indulgence

CHAPTER I

FROM THE RESTORATION TO THE ACT OF UNIFORMITY

OF the many problems which faced the restored monarch in 1660, none was more complex or more difficult of solution than the religious settlement of England. Every monarch since the Reformation had found, some of them to their cost, that this question demanded deliberation, tact and insight. The successors of Charles II had still to seek for a solution ; nay, even to-day the problem remains. Elizabeth had, with a certain amount of success, attempted some degree of comprehension of dissenters within the national church, thereby diverting attention largely to the struggle between the orthodox and the heretical. During her reign the twin movements towards scepticism and toleration made considerable progress : though many paid with their life's blood for their religious opinions, few ventured to assert that their religion was the reason for their condemnation. The limits of the church had been extended, and the language of the Prayer-Book purposely made obscure, that as many as possible might be folded within the State church. The immediate successors of the great queen reversed her enlightened policy. As a theorist, indeed, James I holds a high place among¹ the philosophers who worked for freedom of thought, but in practice, political motives, reinforced by his native stubbornness, led him to adopt towards Protestant dissenters a tone far from conciliatory. 'If this be all your party hath to say,' he exclaimed at the Hampton Court Conference, 'I will make them conform themselves, or else will harry them out of the land.' Under Charles I the threat of James was actually carried into execution. Toleration was dismissed as not only unsafe for the State, but as morally wrong ; not even foreign Protestants congregated in England were allowed to worship in peace. Then had come the mighty Puritan revolution in which religious feeling played so large a part, the execution of the Sovereign and the overthrow of the

¹ In the pamphlet warfare of the restoration period, James is frequently quoted on behalf of religious toleration.

Anglican church. The attempt to establish Presbyterianism failed, perhaps fortunately so, for Milton spoke truly when he said, 'New Presbyter is but old priest writ large.' Almost all forms of worship were now openly practised and tolerated provided that the book of Common Prayer was not used. Cromwell himself, a sincere advocate of religious liberty, would have tolerated even the Prayer-Book: 'for, Brethren,' he said, 'in things of the mind we look for no compulsion but that of light and reason.' Political necessity compelled him to bow to the judgment of the majority and to forbid large assemblies of Anglicans.

But if the religious difficulty was at least a hundred years old, it had never been so overwhelming as at the Restoration. Most of the Episcopalians, who had suffered with and for their murdered Sovereign, looked to his more fortunate son to take signal vengeance for their sufferings. There was no doubt that those who, under the Commonwealth, had lost livings, must be restored.

The Presbyterians, who, if they 'could not drink the king's health, had helped to pray him to his throne,' had tasted the delights of more than toleration.² They had done more than pray; they had given active aid towards the re-establishment of the exiled dynasty.³ For this and other reasons they looked for liberty at least, if not for comprehension within the national church.⁴ Split into several divisions during the late civil struggles, they represented many and varied shades of opinion. Some were quite as zealous for uniformity as any Episcopalian: most denounced toleration to Independents as not to be thought of.

The Independents were remarkable as being among the first advocates of toleration. They refused to receive into communion any who had not given signs of possessing strong religious convictions: they demanded the free election of ministers by each congregation. They had no hope, or even desire, of comprehension, but looked for some measure of toleration.

The Baptists, 'falsely called Anabaptists,' differed⁵ little from the Independents except as regards the immersion of

² Conformist's Plea, p. 37

³ 'Charles II gets in, and Mr. Baxter cries "Hallelujah." (Ambrose Barnes, p. 19.)

⁴ Baxter, ii, 217.

⁵ See 'A Brief Confession or Declaration of Faith, lately presented to king Charles the Second: set forth by many of us, who are falsely called Anabaptists, to inform all men, in these days of scandal and reproach of our innocent Belief and Practice; for which we are not only resolved to suffer persecution to the loss of our goods, but also life itself, rather than to decline the same'

adults. Among them were the most consistent advocates of religious toleration.

The Quakers were hated by one and all. They were 'heretics,' 'the most incorrigible sinners,' 'a dangerous sort of people who colour their designs with a show of religion'; and 'those worst of sectaries'; while their tenets were 'damnable principles.'⁶ They were attacked and ridiculed⁷ in pamphlets serious and satirical. The reasons for this universal hatred are not far to seek. Despite the fact that they were ready to promise due obedience to the State, and to abstain from conspiracies, men failed to understand why they should travel from all parts of the land to attend meetings, unless to concoct some nefarious design.⁸ Their resistance to tithes, and their refusal to accord to those in authority the usual marks of respect, irritated squire and parson. Their claim to inspiration, their testimony against sacraments, and their liberal ideas on the question of saving grace, called forth passionate aversion on the part of other sects. Indeed, many very foolishly suspected them of concealed Romanism.⁹

⁶ Broadmead Records, p. 158. Verney MSS., Dec. 13, 1666 (quoted Burnet, i, 492 note). Life of Ld. Keeper Guildford, p. 88. Thos. Vincent, Presbyterian minister, to some of his congregation who had been to hear Quakers: 'If ever you go again, I will give you up, and God will give you up, that you may believe a lie and be damned.' (Gough, ii, 227.)

⁷ Broadmead Records, p. 165. C.S.P.D., 1660-1, p. 361. See among others 'The Character of a Quaker in his true and proper Colours; or, The Clownish Hypocrite Anatomized,' by R. H., 1671.

'A Quaker with's dark Lanthorne light Is here exposed to your sight,
Stript of's nice Vizard and fair Paint, Wherein he's wont to Ape a Saint,
This Hypocrite we here essay, In's proper colours to display,
Whose Yea and Nay in mischief goes Beyond the Hectors damning oathes.'

A Quaker is a Vessel of Phanaticisme drawn off to the Lees; . . . the fag-end of Reformation marred with a sullen meagre look, and this Characteristick Thou: . . . You may know him by his diminutive band, that looks like the Forlorne-hope of his Shirt crawling out at his Collar; . . . He hath a Pique against Paul for saying "most noble Festus," and hates the memory of Sarah because she called her Husband Lord . . . In brief, a Quaker is a Cynick in Religion, one that would have Ill-nature translated Grace; as if the Holy Spirit (that pure, sweet, gentle Dove) did inspire men with sullen humours and waspish dispositions.'

⁸ 'Elwood,' p. 78, and Introduction, xiii.

⁹ See 'Truth Triumphant: in a Dialogue between a Papist and a Quaker: wherein (I suppose) is made Manifest, that Quaking is the Off-spring of Popery. At the least The Papist and the Quaker, Are (Fratres Uterine) Both of one Venter.' 1671. 'The Quaker unmasked, and clearly detected to be but the spawn of Romish Frogs, Jesuites and Franciscan Freers, sent from Rome to seduce the intoxicated giddy-headed English Nation,' by Prynne. 'The Capital Principles of the People called Quakers Discovered and Stated out of their own Writings.' Wm. Burnet, 1668.

Among the very few who speak well of the Quakers is Marmaduke Lord Langdale who writes to Secretary Nicholas: 'There is a sect of persons, called Quakers, who hold meetings in several parts, and lead most exemplary lives, accounting persecution an honour.' (C.S.P.D. 1660-1, p. 466.)

Roman Catholics anticipated a golden age. They knew full well how much Charles owed to them; nor was Charles himself insensible of his debt of gratitude, but the Stuarts had ever a peculiar facility of forgetting what they owed.

In addition to these bodies, there were the innumerable sects to which the late revolution had given birth—Fifth-Monarchists, Adamites, Ranters, Seekers, &c.—each with its own hopes and anticipations, each looking for light and warmth to the rising sun.¹⁰

All then hoped, and with good grounds, for toleration. Men were weary of bitter strife; the watchwords of the great struggle had outlived their necessity; fanaticism was generally distrusted. Moreover, the sequestered noblemen and gentry had issued invitations to all men to promote the king's return, they on their part protesting against all thoughts of revenge and uncharitableness.¹¹ Yet withal, the circumstances attending the Restoration were fatal to the hopes of the sects. Episcopalian returned with memories of hardships endured in exile, with prejudices sharpened and sympathies narrowed. The variety of English nonconformity scared men otherwise moderate, while too many of the sects believed themselves to be the exponents of the only divinely-appointed system.¹² There was an almost universal want of charity. Episcopalian could not imagine the possibility of salvation outside the church, with all its forms and ceremonies. Presbyterians would almost forego their own liberty rather than see the same freedom extended to Independents and others. Throughout the journal of George Fox can be detected that lack of tolerance which he condemned in his persecutors.¹³

The man to whom all looked was singularly ill-fitted for the task imposed upon him. Lustful from his youth, he loved pleasure before all else, nor could he easily appreciate piety

¹⁰ For an account of the various sects see 'Hesiography,' by E. Pagitt.

¹¹ Baxter, ii, 217. Baxter deemed a compromise easy. Preaching before Parliament on April 30th, 1660: 'for the Concord now wish'd for in matters of Church Government, I told them it was easy for moderate men to come to a fair agreement, and that the late Reverend Primate of Ireland and myself had agreed in half an hour.' (Baxter, ii, 217.)

¹² See the question discussed in 'Religious Life in the 17th Century,' by Hensley-Henson.

¹³ E.g. 'John Perrot was also a prisoner there (at Rome), and being released came over again; but after his arrival here, he, with Charles Baily and others, turned aside from the unity of Friends and truth. Whereupon I was moved to issue a paper declaring how the Lord would blast him and his followers if they did not repent and return, and that they should wither like grass on the house-top, which many of them did.'

and sanctity in others.¹⁴ Not without tact, he could lay no claim to wisdom. Easy-going, he would certainly take the line of least resistance. Of strong religious convictions he was quite devoid: he hated Presbyterianism owing to his experiences in Scotland, but was without doubt somewhat attracted towards Roman Catholicism, and was not unwilling to redeem promises made to Roman Catholics. 'Rebel for rebel,' he scribbled to Clarendon at a council meeting, 'I had rather trust a Papist rebel than a Presbyterian.' 'His religion,' writes Welwood, 'was Deism, or rather that which is call'd so: and if in his Exile, or at his Death, he went into that of Rome; the first was to be imputed to a Complaisance for the Company he was then oblig'd to keep, and the last to a lazy Diffidence in all other Religions, upon a Review of his past life, and the near approach of an uncertain State.'¹⁵ Of one thing he professed himself quite convinced: that God would not damn a man eternally for taking a little pleasure.

Charles' companion in exile, destined to be for seven years his chief minister, was the faithful Hyde, created at the restoration Earl of Clarendon, a staunch Episcopalian, fully determined never to consent to anything that might impair the authority and power of the Church of England. Men of other persuasions he viewed with keen suspicions and distrust: for Protestant dissenters he had no sympathy. 'The truth is,' he wrote somewhat later, 'they are a pack of knaves, and they who appear less violent will immediately lose the party.'¹⁶ 'Their faction,' he wrote, 'is their religion.'¹⁷

Charles II's first expression on religious affairs was contained in his declaration—'a monument to Hyde's legal subtlety'¹⁸—issued at Breda on April 4th, 1660. Thus runs the portion referring to the religious situation:— 'And because the Passion and Uncharitableness of the Times have produced several Opinions in Religion by which men are engaged in Parties and Animosities against each other, which,

¹⁴ 'I was at the king's couchee. His Majesty was in very good humour and took up some time in displaying to us the fallacy and emptiness of those who pretend to a fuller measure of sanctity than their neighbours, and pronounced them to be, for the most part, abominable hypocrites and the most arrant knaves; as instances of which he mentioned several eminent men of our times, nor spared to introduce some mitred heads among the rest, whom he pretended to be none of the best, though their devout exterior gave them the character of saints with the crowd.' (Travels and Memoirs of Sir John Reresby, p. 238.)

¹⁵ Welwood's Memoirs, p. 128.

¹⁶ Until he could safely do otherwise, Clarendon apparently treated dissenting divines with 'condescension and courtesie.' Baxter, ii, 381. See also Lister, iii, 483.

¹⁷ Clarendon, 'Continuation,' p. 311.

¹⁸ Osmund Airy, 'Charles II,' p. 151.

when they shall hereafter unite in a Freedom of conversation, will be composed, or better understood; we do declare a liberty to tender Consciences;¹⁹ and that no man shall be disquieted or called in question, for Differences of Opinion in Matters of Religion which do not disturb the Peace of the Kingdom; and that we shall be ready to consent to such an Act of Parliament, as, upon mature Deliberation, shall be offered to us, for the full granting that Indulgence.'

The declaration was but one part of the plan of Charles and Clarendon to quiet all suspicion until such a time as a more reliable parliament should be assembled.²⁰ But, though valueless, the Declaration was accepted by all outside the Church as a distinct promise that all should enjoy complete religious liberty as far as the king could enforce it. The Devonshire and Wiltshire ministers expressed their joy that the king had so 'pitiful a heart towards tender consciences.'²¹

Feeling themselves encouraged, eight or ten dissenting divines²²—among others, Reynolds, Calamy, Bowles, Case and Manton—hastened to Breda to endeavour to obtain more definite promises. In the course of their interview with Charles, they pleaded that 'they were no enemies to moderate episcopacy, only desired that such things might not be pressed upon them in God's worship, which in their judgment who used them were acknowledged to be matters indifferent and by others were held unlawful.'²³ Charles answered them kindly; but when they urged him to discontinue the use, in his own chapel, of the Book of Common Prayer and of surplices, he angrily replied that while he was prepared to grant liberty of worship, he would not be deprived of his own.²⁴

Thus Charles II ascended the throne of his fathers,

¹⁹ Commons Journals, viii, p. 6. See similar promise to Lincolnshire Quakers: 'It was not his mind that any of his good Subjects, who lived peaceably, should suffer any trouble upon the account of their judgments or opinions in point of Religion.' (Lord's 'Call to England,' pp. 15 and 16.)

²⁰ From Breda, Hyde sent instructions to Morley and the chief clergy: 'The King very well approves that S. Morley and some of his brethren should enter into conferences with the Presbyterian party, in order to reduce them to such a temper as is consistent with the good of the church; and it may be no ill expedient to assure them of present good preferments; but, in my opinion, you should rather endeavour to win over those, who, being recovered, will both have reputation and desire to merit from the church, than be over-solicitous to comply with the pride and passion of those who propose extravagant things.' (Life of S. Barwick, p. 525.)

²¹ C.S.P.D., 1660-1, p. 4.

²² For story of Dr. Case and Charles II at Breda see 'Secret Hist. Chas. II,' 1690.

²³ Clarendon, 'Hist. of the Rebellion,' xvi, pp. 242-4.

²⁴ 'The King smoothed them with some good words, which they, afterwards, most brazenly called promises.' (Examen, p. 431.)

untrammelled by conditions. At the entrance to the city the chief London ministers presented to him a richly-adorned Bible, upon which Charles promised to base all his actions.²⁵ That same evening he spent in the arms of a mistress. Puritan pulpits rang with thanks to Almighty God for the re-establishment of the Stuart dynasty. In Manchester Collegiate Church, Henry Newcome preached to a large congregation on 'Usurpation Defeated and David Restored.' Nathaniel Heywood, the saintly Puritan vicar of Ormskirk, preached from the text, 'And Mephibosheth said unto the king, "Yea, let him take all, forasmuch as my lord the king is come again in peace unto his own house."'²⁶ Nevertheless it was not difficult to see in which direction the tide of public opinion was flowing. Scribbling pamphleteers hastened to assure the sects that the day of reckoning was near. Thus one warns Nonconformists to beware:—

'Let all Phanaticks²⁷ have a care,
And keep out of the Devil's snare,
For this great work the Lord hath done
In sending us the gracious Son
Of Him whom you with wrath did slay,
For which you have cause to mourn alway.'²⁸

In London and Oxford dissenters were made the subject of scurrilous jest and abuse.²⁹

²⁵ Baxter, ii, p. 218.

²⁶ His neighbour, Peter Stanishaugh of Aughton, had hastened to London and obtained from the King the £50 which Heywood was receiving as itinerant preacher in Lancashire. ('Life of Nathaniel Heywood,' by Sir H. Ashurst.)

²⁷ Wood notes that the word 'phanatique' (fanatic) came into general use after a speech delivered to Parliament by Monk, 6 Feb., 1659/60, in which he used the words, 'be careful neither the cavalier nor phanatique party have yet a share in your military or civil power.' (Wood's *Life*, i, p. 303.)

²⁸ 'England's Joyfull Holiday. By me O. G.' 1660. See also 'Lord's Call,' p. 8.

²⁹ 'You will hear' writes Hook to Davenport, 'by the bearer, of the play of the "Puritan" before the highest, where were present, as they say, the E. Manchester and three bishops, and London one of them. In it were represented Presbyterians under the form of Mr. Baxter and Mr. Calamy, whose habits and actions were set forth. Prayers were made in imitation of the Puritan, with such Scripture expressions as I am loath to mention—the matter being such as might have been used by any godly man in a right manner. The cause of Zion lying in the dust was spread before the Lord, and God's former deliverance of His people urged in such phrases, would amaze you if you heard them, with eyes lifted up to Heaven. One representing the Puritan put in the stocks for stealing a pig, and the stocks found by him unlockt, which he admires at as a wonderful providence and fruit of prayer; upon which he consults about his call, whether he should come forth or not; and at last perceived that it was his way, and forth he comes, lifting up his eyes to Heaven and falls to prayer and thanks.' (Mather Papers, 4th Series, Vol. viii. See also Crosby, ii, 33.)

The return of Charles meant, of course, the re-instatement of episcopacy.³⁰ Without waiting for legislation on the subject, and in spite of the proclamation of Charles,³¹ many of the dispossessed clergy drove out, by legal process, and even by violence, the dissenters placed in their parsonages during the Commonwealth.³² At Halifax, while Eli Bentley was preaching in the parish church, the old vicar, Dr. Marsh, marched up the aisle, displaced Bentley, and went through the service according to the Prayer-Book.³³ Visitors expelled the Puritans at the head of the colleges of Oxford and Cambridge.³⁴ Persecution commenced immediately, even before the king had actually arrived in the capital. Early in May, Captain Kiffin's meeting-house in London 'was much defaced by the loose sort of people'; before the end of June there was scarcely a prison in Wales but was crowded with dissenters.³⁵ Within a few months of the king's return, John Bunyan, among others, was arrested and imprisoned for preaching without having first received episcopal ordination. Nevertheless, the more determined dissenters continued to meet, frequently at midnight, in obscure places—woods and caverns—or among the hills.³⁶

Of the old bishops, only nine remained alive—Juxon of London, Roberts of Bangor, King of Chichester, Pierce of Bath and Wells, Wren of Ely, Skinner of Oxford, Warner of Rochester, Duppa of Salisbury, and Frewen of Lichfield and Coventry.

The faithful Juxon was elevated to Canterbury, while Sheldon, who might well be called 'the hammer of dissenters,' succeeded Juxon at London. Of great munificence

³⁰ Ranke, iii, p. 350.

³¹ May 29th, 1660. Proclamation commanding all persons to forbear the disturbance of Ecclesiastical possessions. (*Mercurius Publicus*, May 31 to June 7.) C.S.P.D., 1660-1, pp. 537-9.

³² Assizes at Winchester: 'there was not one Sequestered Minister that brought his action against the Intruder, but had a Verdict for him, with costs.' (*Mercurius Publicus*, Sept. 13-20.) H.M.C.R., vii, pp. 153, 4, &c.

³³ Watson's 'Halifax,' p. 352.

³⁴ *Mercurius Publicus*, Sept. 13-20. 'Lord's Call,' pp. 27-8.

³⁵ See 'Lord's Call,' pp. 14, 17, 21, &c., for account of the sufferings in Carmarthen, Gloucester and elsewhere. Also Rees, p. 97. *Mercurius Publicus*, May 3-10. Crosby, ii, 22-26, gives the text of a petition of Anabaptists, 'prisoners in the gaol of Maidstone, for the testimony of a good conscience.' They appeal to the promises made in the declaration from Breda, and to their own confession of faith. See also 'A Fanatick's Letter, sent out of the Dungeon of the Gate House Prison, Westminster, to all his Brethren in the Three Kingdoms at Liberty, and also in the several Gaols and Dungeons therein, that are under all the Principles of the Doctrine of Christ, by Henry Adis, a Baptized Believer, undergoing the Name of a Freewiller, and also most ignominiously, by the tongue of Infamy, called a Fanatic or a Madman,' 1660.

³⁶ Rees, pp. 194-5. 'Axminster Ecclesiastica,' p. 18.

and with undaunted courage, a generous patron of learning, he was a statesman rather than a divine.³⁷ Some sees were left vacant in the hope that by prevailing upon Presbyterians to accept them considerable progress might be made towards complete reconciliation.³⁸ Before the end of June, largely owing to the influence of Manchester, the new Lord Chamberlain, the Presbyterians Wallis, Baxter, Calamy, Manton, Case, Reynolds, Bates, Ash, Spurstow, and Woodbridge were sworn in as chaplains to his Majesty.³⁹ True, in their official capacity, they preached not more than half a dozen sermons all told; not a penny did any of them receive for their services. Royal chaplains their consciences would allow them to be, but before they could conscientiously accept positions in the hierarchy of the church some agreement upon the debated points of ritual and church government must be concluded. To this end a meeting was held, some time in June, at the lodgings of the Earl of Manchester.⁴⁰ There, Charles, the Lord Chancellor, the Lord Chamberlain, and the Earl of St. Albans met those Presbyterians recently appointed King's chaplains. Baxter spoke boldly for a union between Episcopalian and Presbyterians, professing that it could easily be procured 'by making only things necessary to be the Terms of Union, by the true Exercise of Church Discipline against Sin, and by not casting out the faithful Ministers that must Exercise it, nor obtruding unworthy Men upon the People.'⁴¹ Charles assured them that he was determined to effect a union, but it could only be done 'by abating somewhat on both sides, and meeting in the Midway.' So graciously did he speak, that old Simeon Ashe burst into tears of joy. As a result of this informal conference, the Presbyterians were asked to prepare a paper setting forth their ultimate concessions.

Meanwhile, Parliament had not been idle. On May 26th, Prynne reported an order 'touching quieting Possessions of Ministers, Schoolmasters and other Ecclesiastical Persons in sequestered Livings until they are legally evicted.'⁴² It was read and referred to a committee, which reported two days

³⁷ 'This Sheldon, the most virulent enemy and poisoner of the English Church.' (S. T. Coleridge.)

³⁸ This was quite in keeping with the advice sent by Clarendon from Breda to Morley and others (see page 6, note 20).

³⁹ Baxter, ii, p. 229. Masson's 'Milton,' vi, p. 60. Henry Newcome, of Manchester, declined this dubious honour. For rumours of reconciliation between the two parties, see 'Church and State,' p. 71.

⁴⁰ Baxter, ii, pp. 229-232.

⁴¹ Baxter, ii, 231.

⁴² C. J., viii, p. 47.

later,⁴³ that 'Whereas Complaint has been made, that several Riots have been committed, and forcible Entries made, upon the Possessions of divers Persons, Ecclesiastical and Temporal, who have been settled in the said Possessions by order of one or both Houses of Parliament, or other lawful or pretended Authority, and that without any Order of Parliament, or legal Eviction, to the Disturbance of the public Peace, whilst these matters are under the Consideration of the Parliament: It is therefore Ordered, by the [] and Commons, in Parliament assembled, that no Person or Persons, Ecclesiastical or Temporal, shall presume, indirectly or forcibly, to enter upon or disturb the said Possessions, or any of them, till the Parliament take Order therein, or an Eviction be had by due Course of Law.' The House requested the same committee to put the slightly amended order into the form of a declaration to be presented to the king.

Having thus provided against disturbances caused by contending incumbents, parliament proceeded to deal with other disorders. On June 27th, a bill was read 'for the Maintenance of the true reformed Protestant Religion, and for the Suppression of Popery, Superstition, Profaneness, and other Disorders and Innovations in Worship and Ceremonies.'⁴⁴ But there was no little doubt as to what constituted 'the true reformed Protestant religion.' In a grand committee of the whole House on July 9th and 16th, the question was warmly debated.⁴⁵ Many proposed to determine matters of discipline by law, matters of doctrine by the Scriptures. Some urged the adoption of the Presbyterian system, but the majority inclined to moderate episcopacy.⁴⁶ It is not strange that few favoured extreme episcopacy, for in this Convention parliament dissenters were in the majority. On the motion of Sir A. A. Cooper (better known by his later title—Earl of Shaftesbury), the debate was adjourned for three months, and it was resolved that the king should be requested to call together such a number of divines of both parties as he should think fit, to advise him on matters of

⁴³ C. J., viii, p. 47.

⁴⁴ C. J., viii, p. 76.

⁴⁵ Ranke, iii, 350-1.

⁴⁶ Sharp, agent for the Scotch, to Douglas of Edinburgh: 'Some yesterday spoke in the House for Episcopacy, and Mr. Bampfield, speaking against it, was hissed down. The English lawyers have given in papers to show that the Bishops have not been evicted by law. The cloud is more dark than was apprehended. The Presbyterians are like to be ground between two millstones. The Papists and Fanatics are busy.' (Kennet's Register, p. 200, 7 July, 1660.)

religion.⁴⁷ Charles accepted the task: he was, he said, in hand with it, and hoped, very speedily, to do something therein to the good satisfaction of the kingdom.⁴⁸

The 'something' of which Charles spoke was further foreshadowed by the Chancellor in his speech to the two Houses on September 13th, on the occasion of the passing of the bill 'for settling ministers in Ecclesiastical Benefices, Livings and Promotions.'⁴⁹ 'I may say,' he began, 'His Majesty hath never denied his confirmation to any man in possession who hath asked it; and they have all had the effect of it, except such who, upon examination and enquiry, appear not worthy of it; and such who, tho' they are pardoned, cannot yet think themselves worthy to be preferred. His Majesty knows well, that, by this act he hath gratified and obliged many worthy and pious Men, who have contributed much to his restoration, and who shall always receive fresh evidence of His Majesty's favour and kindness; but he is not sure that he may not likewise have gratified some who did neither contribute to his coming in, nor are glad that he is in.' After remarking how it was noticed with sorrow that religion had become the ground of all animosity, hatred, malice and revenge, the Chancellor continued: 'This disquisition hath cost the King many a sigh, many a sad hour, when he hath considered the almost irreparable reproach the Protestant religion hath undergone, from the divisions and distractions which have been so notorious within this kingdom. What pains he hath taken to compose them, after several discourses of learned and pious men of different persuasions, you will shortly see by a declaration he will publish upon that occasion; by which you will see his great indulgence to those who can have any pretension from conscience to differ from their brethren.'—Imagine the sighs and sad hours of the Merry Monarch.—The Speaker spoke in much the same strain. 'Crazy titles need your Majesty's help as much as crazy bodies need the help of physicians; and what your Majesty hath already done in this parliament, and what you are about to do, and what you have ever expressed your readiness, if we could be as ready to receive, as your Majesty is to give, we hope to vanish and banish all fears and jealousies out of men's minds for the future; and teach them how, with much confidence and contentedness, to rest and wholly rely upon your Majesty's grace and goodness.'

To Charles, with the advice of a synod of divines,

⁴⁷ C. J., viii, 95.

⁴⁸ C. J., viii, 97.

⁴⁹ C. J., viii, 173.

parliament had resigned the task of religious settlement. It will be remembered that Charles had asked the Presbyterians for a statement of their ultimate concessions.⁵⁰ These they embodied in their 'First Address and Proposals,' forwarded to the king in July.⁵¹ The proposals dealt with reformation in church government, church ceremonies, and the liturgy. Especially did they recommend that the church should be governed on the lines of Usher's model. They had fully expected that, while offering concessions themselves, Episcopalian representatives would be called upon to do the same. In this they were destined to keen disappointment. The only paper they received was a most vigorous attack on their own proposals.⁵² Nothing daunted, the Presbyterians drew up 'A defence of our Proposals,' but did not present it, lest it should increase the discord and hinder peace.⁵³ It must have been apparent, thus early, that comprehension was impossible. Neither party attempted to understand the attitude of the other; to the one, Episcopacy, as established, savoured too much of popery; to the other, dissent was indissolubly connected with wild fanaticism and gross hypocrisy. At this juncture, it is evident, some of the Presbyterians began to despair of a compromise.⁵⁴

Charles now brought forward his intended declaration. A copy was sent by the Chancellor to Calamy, Reynolds and Baxter, on September 4th, 'with liberty to give notice what they liked not.' They presented their exceptions, which were chiefly the work of Baxter, and at Worcester House, on October 22nd, Charles, the Chancellor, Albemarle, Ormond, Manchester, Hollis and Anglesey met representatives of Episcopalian and Presbyterians to consider its final form.^{54A} After reading a petition from the Independents and Anabaptists pleading for freedom of worship, Clarendon suggested the addition to the declaration of a clause to the effect 'that others also be permitted to meet for Religious Worship, so be it they do it not to the disturbance of the Peace: and that no Justice of Peace or Officer disturb them.' In ominous silence the divines sat. All saw too clearly the studied vagueness of 'others': they read the king's intentions —to secure freedom of worship for Roman Catholics. Yet none ventured to voice the general doubts until Baxter,

⁵⁰ Baxter, ii, 232.

⁵¹ For full text see 'Engl. Puritanism Documents,' p. 12.

⁵² See 'Documents,' p. 27.

⁵³ *Ibid.* p. 29.

⁵⁴ Baxter, ii, 258.

^{54A} See 'Documents,' p. 63. Baxter, ii, 259, 276-8. Burnet, i, 315. Ranke, iii, 352.

despite the dissuasions of his colleague Wallis, rose to remark that some distinction must be made between 'parties tolerable and parties intolerable,' and 'as for Papists and Socinians, for our parts we cannot make their Toleration our request.' Charles took up the challenge, muttering that there were laws enough against the papists, to which Baxter retorted that he understood the question to be whether those laws should be executed or not. Thus the meeting ended. Morley, Henchman, Calamy and Reynolds⁵⁵ were appointed to put the final touches to the measure, which was published on October 25th, 1660, as 'His Majesty's Declaration to all his loving subjects of his kingdom of England and dominion of Wales concerning ecclesiastical affairs.'⁵⁶

The declaration, which had been eagerly awaited,⁵⁷ was not intended as a permanent settlement; it was to hold good only until a synod of divines could be called. In it the king declared that his residence abroad enabled him to testify to the approval by foreign divines of the Church of England.⁵⁸ He intended to call a synod for the purpose of arriving at a permanent settlement, but meanwhile seditious pamphlets had appeared, and his own declaration, made when under restraint in Scotland,⁵⁹ had been unseasonably printed and dispersed. Since jealousies were for the moment too great for a synod to be called, he declared his resolution to support the government of the Church of England, but he would appoint divines of both parties to review the Prayer-Book, and would waive minor points of ceremony, &c. 'In a word,' it concluded, 'we do again renew what we have formerly said in our Declaration from Breda, for the liberty of tender consciences, that no man shall be disquieted or called in question for differences of opinion in matters of religion, which do not disturb the peace of the kingdom: and if any hath been disturbed in that kind since our arrival here, it hath not proceeded from any direction of ours.'⁶⁰ Had the provisions been faithfully carried out, the Church would have

⁵⁵ Lister, iii, 110. If these four disagreed, Anglesey and Hollis were to be called in. (Baxter, ii, 278.)

⁵⁶ Baxter was delightedly surprised to find that many of his suggestions had been embodied in the text.

⁵⁷ Thos. Smith writes to J. Williamson (afterwards Sir Joseph) on Oct. 1: 'Is glad the church businesses go on smoothly and are managed so prudently. The declaration is longed for.' (C.S.P.D., 1660-1, pp. 303-4.)

⁵⁸ For full text see 'Documents,' p. 63.

⁵⁹ This was the declaration issued in August, 1650. In it Charles accepted the covenant, lamented his mother's idolatry and his father's misdeeds, and abjured all popery, prelacy, &c.

⁶⁰ To this clause dissenters of all kinds appealed again and again as to a Magna Carta.

been governed much as Presbyterians demanded that it should be ; that is to say, on the lines of Usher's model. Yet, it was merely a salve for the Presbyterian body ; other dissenters met with no consideration ; they were ignored.⁶¹

Taking the measure on its merits as merely temporary, even Presbyterians were not unanimous in its praise. Among those who assembled to consider the advisability of returning thanks to the king, there were some who offered objections,⁶² trivial enough indeed as compared with the real concessions granted.⁶³ The remainder waited on the King at Whitehall, November 16th, to present 'The humble and grateful acknowledgment.'⁶⁴ Fifty-nine ministers of Lancashire, of whom the greater part afterwards suffered ejection, addressed to the king their thanks for his gracious declaration, which they accepted as the first-fruits of future good. The Commons, too, on November 6th, voted 'that the humble and hearty acknowledgment and thanks of this House be presented to his Majesty,' but when the declaration was introduced as a bill, it was defeated at its second reading by 183 to 157, owing to the opposition of the courtiers.⁶⁵ 'The Commons never proceeded further in the matter of religion,' writes Clarendon, 'of which the King was very glad.'⁶⁶ Charles and Clarendon had issued the declaration as a work of necessity and essentially as a temporary measure. To have allowed it to become an act of parliament would have secured for it a permanency which neither desired, the

⁶¹ Ralph (i, 52) states that the various sects, other than Presbyterians, were so annoyed at being ignored in the declaration, that they conspired to further the Bill for Uniformity by which Presbyterians would suffer more than themselves.

⁶² Baxter, ii, pp. 284-5.

⁶³ Baxter, ii, pp. 284-5. Others felt that they were lucky to gain so much. 'Glad I am the Lord hath given you such favor in the eyes of our King that you are so neare unto him. I wish His Majesty the same yourself doe, a spiritual blessing to your being neare him. What your laboures with the rest of our honoured and godly divines have been towards the healing of the breaches . . . I perceive by His Majestie's declaration. I do not think things are there in all pointes as you would, but as you can. I believe you have found it difficult work to get so farre, and it is a mercie that your King, all things considered, is so moderate as he is.' (Firmin of Shalford, Essex, to Richard Baxter, Nov. 14, 1660. Baxter MSS. Dr. Williams' Library.)

⁶⁴ For text see 'Documents,' pp. 101-4. See also Appendix I below, and C. J., viii, 176.

⁶⁵ See C.S.P.D., 1660-1, p. 423. 'The bill on the King's declaration about religion was cast out by 20 voices, and the Peers were overmatched in that as they are in all things else . . .' Also C.S.P.D., 1660-1, p. 404 (Secy. Nicholas to Sir H. Bennet): 'The bill brought with great zeal into the House of Commons for passing the King's late declaration on Ecclesiastical affairs into an Act was thrown out last week, quashed by the violence of its promoters.' Also Parliamentary Hist., pp. 141-152.

⁶⁶ Clarendon 'Continuation,' 145.

former in the interests of Roman Catholics, the latter as a sincere advocate of the absolute supremacy of the Episcopalian Church.

This proceeding of parliament nullified, to a large extent, the force of the measure. Apparently justices were at liberty to recognise or ignore it, according to their views of the comparative authority of king and parliament. Philip Henry was notified that his appearance at the assize, where he stood indicted for nonconformity, might be waived, on account of the indulgence granted by the king's declaration, but a few days later, he had to appear at Hawarden for not reading the Common Prayer.⁶⁷ Sheldon, Bishop of London, sent for Dr. Bates and Dr. Jacomb to warn them that if they refused to read the Common Prayer, and refrained from ordering their curates to do so, he would send those who would.⁶⁸ In vain they appealed to the king's declaration. Yet in certain districts the measure was not without effect.⁶⁹

One other result of the declaration must be mentioned. In September or October, Charles had offered to several eminent Presbyterians bishoprics or deaneries. To Reynolds was offered the bishopric of Norwich; to Baxter, the bishopric of Hereford; to Calamy, that of Lichfield and Coventry; to Gilpin, that of Carlisle; to Bates, the deanery of Lichfield; to Manton, the deanery of Rochester; to Bowles, the deanery of York.⁷⁰ Reports were general throughout the kingdom that Baxter had accepted promotion. As a matter of fact, he declined at once.⁷¹ After some hesitation the others refused the proffered honours, with the

67 P. Henry's Diaries, pp. 81-2.

68 C.S.P.D., 1660-1, pp. 537, 539.

69 Saml. Jones, of Brynllwarch, to Richd. Baxter (Baxter MSS., Dr. Williams' Library): 'This only I shall say, that from those sad instances that occur in the most reformed parts and cities of the nation, you may take aim what to conclude of these rude and darker corners where generally the very form of godliness is as much hated as the power of it is little understood. We bless the Lord, and pray Him to bless His Majesty, for that liberty we have hitherto enjoyed in the free exercise of our ministry. A blessed respite His Majesty's declaration afforded us, though against the hearts of those among whom we live. Oh, how many a mouth hath it kept open powerfully, indeed, and as it were valedictorily, to preach the blessed gospel to the consciences of the poor, mad, wild, dead people, who otherwise had been stopped, to the joy and rejoicings of the hearts of many profane ones. Well, yet we have hopes in a good God and a gracious King; and though the ark of the Church should be tossed from one extreme to the other, when God Himself is both master of the storm and anchor to it, it shall at length rest upon Ararat.'

70 Baxter, ii, pp. 281-4. Stoughton, 'Church of Restoration,' i, p. 120. Verney Memoirs, iv, p. 7.

71 Baxter refused because he feared the declaration would soon be revoked and most of the 'godly' ministers cast out. Baxter, ii, 281. Ward, 'Autobiography,' p. 128.

exception of Reynolds, who accepted the bishopric of Norwich under the impression that the king's declaration was to be the basis of the final settlement. He was consecrated on January 6th, 1661.⁷²

Thus matters stood when the frenzied outbreak of a handful of wild fanatics afforded some excuse for the initiation of a long series of penal statutes and proclamations against all dissenters from the Established Church. Since the return of Charles rumours of plots had been many, but no actual rising had been effected.⁷³ From January 6th, 1661, for four days, the Fifth-Monarchist Venner and his followers terrorised the city of London by their frantic attacks and their cries of 'King Jesus, and their heads upon the gates.'⁷⁴ The insurrection was merely local in its character, nor can it be considered indicative of a general unrest. Quakers, Anabaptists and Independents hastened to disclaim sympathy with these bloody deeds.⁷⁵ Nevertheless, Venner's revolt was made the pretext for a proclamation, issued on January 10th, prohibiting all unlawful and seditious meetings and conventicles held under pretence of religious worship.⁷⁶ That it was a mere pretext is shown by the fact that four days before the revolt orders were issued, to be read in every parish church, forbidding meetings, held under the pretence of teaching, except in public churches and chapels.⁷⁷

72 'Documents,' p. 107.

73 See e.g. H.M.C.R., vii, 130.

74 Pepys, Jan. 6-9, 1661. Clarendon 'Continuation,' 145. Elwood, p. 55.

75 'The Humble Apology of some commonly called Anabaptists . . . with their Protestation against the late wicked and most horrid treasonable Insurrection and Rebellion acted in the city of London.' 'A Declaration from the harmlesse and innocent people of God called Quakers, against all plotters and fighters in the world . . .' 'A Renunciation and Declaration of the Congregational Churches, and public Preachers of the said Judgment, living in and about the City of London, against the late horrid Insurrection and Rebellion acted in the said City.'

76 For full text see 'Documents,' p. 104. See also Cardwell, 'Docy. Annals,' ii, 251. The preamble ran: 'Although nothing can be more unwelcome to us, than the necessity of restraining some part of that liberty, which was indulged to tender consciences by our late gracious Declaration; yet since divers persons (known by the name of Anabaptists, Quakers, and Fifth-monarchy men, or some such like appellation . . .) under pretence of serving God, do daily meet in great numbers, in secret places, and at unusual times . . .'

77 See 'Church and State,' p. 131: C.S.P.D., 1660-1, p. 515. The J.P.'s sent Martindale the following instructions: 'To the Minister of Rotherston. In pursuance of certaine instructions which we have lately received from the King's Majestie, for the preservation of the peace of the Kingdome, and for prevention of all plotts and designs against the present government, these are in His Majestie's name strictly to charge and command all manner of persons, of what opinion soever they bee, that they from henceforth doe not assemble themselves together in any unlawfull manner, and particularly that none out of their owne families assemble together upon pretence of

For refusing to read the orders, Adam Martindale, vicar of Rostherne in Cheshire, was imprisoned. The new proclamation led to the severe treatment of all sects, but especially of the Quakers,⁷⁸ because they persistently refused to take oaths tendered to them. In Lancashire a general persecution was set on foot. Quakers were surprised and taken at Chipping, Yelland, Bickerstaffe, Knowsley, Lancaster, Manchester, Swarthmore and Downham. By the end of March, 1661, there were no less than 270 Quakers incarcerated in Lancaster gaol. In London, at the Savoy, St. James', and elsewhere, Quakers were seized on the suspicion that they were met together only to plot and commit murders.⁷⁹ Sir Ralph Verney as deputy Lieutenant was continually receiving instructions to raise the Militia to root out and disperse Anabaptists, Quakers and others. 'None in the nation,' writes one from London, 'who have published the word of truth are at liberty, except two or three in London. I have collected the sufferings of all parts for the truth's sake, and find that there are 500 in prison in London, and nearly 4,000 in the nation, of whom I have already heard: these things are to be laid before the King and Council.'⁸⁰

On March 25th, 1661, Charles issued his commission to twelve principals and nine assistants on the Episcopalian side and to the same number of Presbyterians,⁸¹ 'to take into

preaching, teaching, praying, or hearing of the same in any place whatsoever but in public parish churches and chappells appointed for the same; and we doe further require all justices of the peace, all majors, bayliffes, constables, and all other His Majestie's officers and ministers whatsoever, as well civil as military that they diligently enquire after and timely suppresse all such assemblies and punish the offenders as disturbers of His Majestie's peace. Given under our hands, the second day of January, 1660. The minister of Rotherston is hereby required to publish this precept upon the Lord's-day next after the receipt hereof, in the audience of the whole congregation.' (Adam Martindale, 'Autobiog.', p. 144.)

⁷⁸ Some attempt was made to check the grosser kinds of persecution. On Jany. 17, 1661, a proclamation was issued prohibiting the seizing of any persons, or the searching of houses without a warrant, except in time of actual insurrection. (C.S.P.D., 1660-1, p. 475.)

⁷⁹ Besse, pp. 307-310. *Mercurius Publicus*, Jany. 3-10, 1661.

⁸⁰ Francis Howgill to Richard Hickson, March 16, 1661 (C.S.P.D., 1660-1, p. 533). This application to the King apparently met with success, for on May 11th Charles commanded the liberation of all Quakers, imprisoned merely for conscience sake, for not taking oaths, &c. The pardons were issued *en bloc* thus saving the prisoners both the trouble and the expense of suing out individual pardons. (C.S.P.D., 1660-1, p. 587.)

⁸¹ For full text see Baxter, ii, pp. 303-5. The Episcopilians were:—Frewen, Archbp. of York; Sheldon, Bp. of London; Cosin, Bp. of Durham; Warner, Bp. of Rochester; King, Bp. of Chichester; Henchman, Bp. of Sarum; Morley, Bp. of Worcester; Sanderson, Bp. of Lincoln; Laney, Bp. of Peterborough; Walton, Bp. of Chester; Sterne, Bp. of Carlisle; Gauden, Bp. of Exeter; Reynolds, Bp. of Norwich; and Dr. Earles, Dean of Westminster; Peter Heylin; John Hacket; John Barwick; Peter Gunning; John

serious and grave considerations, the several Directions, Rules and Forms of Prayer, and things in the Book of Common Prayer contained, and to advise and consult upon and about the same, and the several Objections and Exceptions which shall now be raised against the same. And if occasion be, to make such reasonable and necessary Alterations, Corrections and Amendments therein, as . . . shall be agreed upon to be needful or expedient for the giving Satisfaction unto tender Consciences, and the restoring and continuance of Peace and Unity, in the Churches under our Protection and Government.' Whether Charles was sincere or whether he and Clarendon were merely playing with the dissenters until a new parliament was assembled must remain a mystery, but it is certain that many fully believed that the king was prepared to adopt a liberal scheme of church government and to accept reasonable alterations in the liturgy. On April 15th, the commissioners met at the Savoy. The problems which faced them and the possible modes of solving them are expounded and commented upon, seriously and satirically in the pamphlet literature of the time. 'The Interest of England in the Matter of Religion,' written by Corbett, endeavoured to show that the chief necessity was to form an union between Episcopilians and Presbyterians by mutual concessions. The view of extreme churchmen was expressed by Roger L'Estrange in his reply to Corbett called 'The Holy Cheat.' 'One thing,' he says, 'is very notable, they [the Presbyterians] never state what they would have; their termes are general and indefinite, and hard to be understood, because they are resolv'd not to be satisfied.' The same opinion was well expressed in the satire 'The Fortunate Change':—

'For if to Heretick in Church or State
 You give an inch, they'l take an Ell, and prate
 Their wild Opinions to the Multitude,
 Who'l know no reason, but from hand that's rude.
 Laugh we upon them, like the Black-Moor they
 Will cut our Throats; well Cudgel'd they'l obey.
 What would men have? No People's like us free.
 We've best Religion, best Propriety.'

Pearson; Thomas Pierce; Anthony Sparrow; Herbert Thorndike. The Presbyterians were:—Anthony Tuckney; John Conant; William Spurstow; John Wallis, Thomas Manton; Edmund Calamy; Richard Baxter; Arthur Jackson; Thomas Case; Samuel Clark; Matthew Newcomen; and Thomas Ilorton; Thomas Jacomb; William Bates; John Rawlinson; William Cooper; John Lightfoot; John Collins; Benjamin Woodbridge; William Drake. William Drake was written in error for Roger Drake, a circumstance which resulted in Drake abstaining from attendance at the conference.

All nations court our true-fram'd Church and boast
 Of all Reform'd we are Reformed most.
 But we have found the cheat ; for now we're sure
 Their aim's to be most wicked and impure.
 Let Country plot their grounds, contrive their Farms,
 And City mind their Shops, nor neighbour's harms.
 Let Pastors teach their Flocks true Faith and Love,
 And not Sedition, or Superiors move,
 Or tell close Counsels, lies, or publick news
 In Parish-Church the people to abuse.
 This was their trade whereby themselves they damn'd
 And Souls as fast as that men's Souls were fram'd.'

Other Episcopalians were more moderate in their views. In his 'Irenicum. A weapon salve for the Churches Wounds,' written towards the close of 1660, Edward Stillingfleet wrote : 'Were we so happy but to take off things granted unnecessary by all, and suspected by many and judged unlawful by some ; and to make nothing the bonds of our communion but what Christ hath done, viz., one Faith, one Baptism, &c., allowing a liberty for matters of indifferency, and bearing with the weakness of those who cannot bear things which others account lawful, we might indeed be restored to a true Primitive lustre far sooner than by furbishing up some antiquated ceremonies, which can derive their pedigree no higher, than from some ancient custom and tradition. God will some day convince men that the Union of the Church lies more in the Unity of faith and affection, than in uniformity of doubtful rites and ceremonies.'⁸² One can only regret that advice so good influenced so few.

From the very commencement of the conference it was evident that little concession would be granted by the representatives of the Established Church, for they adopted an attitude of obstinate defence towards all suggestions. Sheldon, president in the place of the Archbishop of York, demanded, much to the surprise of the Presbyterians, a written statement of their objections to the Liturgy. On May 4th, the Presbyterians presented their 'Exceptions against the Liturgy' together with 'The Petition for peace and concord.'⁸³ To these their opponents replied, and for

⁸² See also: ' Terms of Accommodation between those of the Episcopal and their brethren of the Presbyterian Perswasions . . . By a Country Minister, a Friend to Both, a Stickler for Neither, but a Zealot for the peace of the Church.'

⁸³ ' Documents,' p. 385. See Roger L'Estrange's ' The Relaps'd Apostate,' a reply to ' The Petition for Peace' : ' Come leave your Jocky-tricks, your Religious Wranglings, about the thing ye least consider, Conscience. Leave your Streyning at Gnats, and swallowing of Camels, your Blewcap Divinity

more than three of the four months set apart for the conference, the parties engaged in a bitter paper controversy.⁸⁴ Neither side made any great attempt to understand or to appreciate the attitude of the other. Thus the wearisome proceedings dragged along, each day showing more clearly than the last that comprehension was out of the question. Following the Savoy Conference, Convocation met in November, 'to review the Book of Common Prayer, and the manner of consecrating bishops, priests, &c., and to present for the king's allowance such alterations and additions therein as they should think fitting,'⁸⁵ a task originally entrusted to the divines at the Savoy. This packed Convocation met ostensibly to amend the Prayer Book with a view to making it less objectionable to dissenters. If such were the intent, the attempt was a hopeless failure. Never till then, said the Presbyterians, had the Prayer Book been positively distasteful.⁸⁶ Thus had Charles's task ended. Nothing remained but for parliament to try its hand at the problem.

Some months earlier, a new parliament had assembled. In contrast to the Convention parliament it was strongly royalist and episcopalian in character, only fifty-six Nonconformists finding seats. The feeling of the nation was, no doubt, strongly royalist, though it is questionable whether the elections had been perfectly free.⁸⁷ London was the great exception to the almost universal choice of cavaliers. 'The great talk of the towne,' says Pepys, 'is the strange election that the City of London made yesterday (March 19) for Parliament-men; viz., Fowke, Love, Jones, and . . . (Sir Wm.

of subjecting Publique and venerable Laws, to private and Factious Constitutions.' Also his 'State-Divinity; or a Supplement to the Relaps'd Apostate': 'Without this Liberty of Freedome, where had been their Separate Assemblies? Their Seditious Conventicles; Their Anti-Episcopal Lectures, and without These, their Desolating Reformation? Were we not in the high-way to Unity, when Churches were turned into Stables, and houses of Infamy supplyed the place of Churches? When Peters was fooling in One Pulpit, Marshall Denouncing in Another: and when the Now Pastor of Brainford threw the very Fire-brand of the Rebellion into the King's Coach; that execrable Pamphlet (To your Tents O Israel).'

⁸⁴ 'Jack the Levite labours to confound Aaron the "jure divino" priest.' (H.M.C.R., v. 173.)

⁸⁵ C.S.P.D., 1661-2, p. 109. Baxter, ii, p. 333. 'Cong. Plea,' p. 35.

⁸⁶ For alterations see 'Documents,' pp. 456-8.

⁸⁷ April 8, 1661. H. Norwood to Sir Edward Harley, Whitehall: 'The elections are in all places such as you would wish, yet not without some offers of the Rumpers. Yesterday my Lord Mordant from Windsor did advertise here the towne of Reading would endeavour to make an ill election, but perhaps a little care extraordinary may helpe that also.' (H.M.C.R., XIV. App. II, p. 250.)

Thompson), men that, so far from being episcopal, are thought to be Anabaptists; and chosen with a great deal of zeal, in spite of the other party that thought themselves so strong, calling out "No Bishops! no Lord Bishops!" It do make people to fear it may come to worse, by being an example to the country to do the same. And indeed the Bishops are so high, that very few do love them.⁸⁸ One rhymster breaks out into a veritable lament:—

. . . . Oh such hellish Choice
Will us undo; London, thy case all pitty,
And pray these Vermine may not spoil thy City.⁸⁹

At the opening of parliament, May 8th, the Chancellor exhibited his true temper, which he had to some extent veiled during the previous year. 'If the present oaths,' he exclaimed, 'have any terms or expressions in them that a tender conscience honestly makes scruple of submitting to, in God's name let other oaths be formed in their places, as comprehensive of all those obligations which the policy of government must exact; but still let there be a yoke; let there be an oath; let there be some law, that may be the rule to that Indulgence, that under pretence of liberty of conscience, men may not be absolved from all the obligations of law and conscience.'⁹⁰ The new members were only too ready to follow whither the Chancellor pointed the way. The prelates were restored to the Upper House. On May 13th, it was agreed that all members of parliament should be compelled to take, before a certain date, the sacrament according to the Liturgy. The Solemn League and Covenant was declared void and illegal, and ordered to be burnt by the common hangman. Still more significant was the act 'for the well-governing and regulating corporations,' passed December 20th, 1661. It demanded from all holding office in corporations an oath that they believed it unlawful to take up arms against the king or those commissioned by him, and an abjuration of all obligations arising from the Solemn League and Covenant. Those elected in future were to take the sacrament according to the rites of the Church of England. The act was a direct and heavy blow at the very heart of dissent, for its strength lay largely not in country places, but in corporate towns. No doubt Bunyan, in his 'Holy War' had acts of this kind in mind when he related how Diabolus

⁸⁸ Pepys Diary, March 20 1661.

⁸⁹ 'The Loyall Subjects Lamentation for Londons P'erversenesse in the Malignant Choice of some Rotten Members, on Tuesday, the 19th of March, 1661.'

⁹⁰ L. J., xi., p. 243.

confined the Lord Mayor to his own house, as to a prison, although that official had concurred with the people in admitting the giant into the town; how the recorder Conscience, gave place to Forget-good, and new aldermen, Haughty, Whoring, No-truth, Drunkenness, &c., were appointed. There is no doubt also, that the act was rigidly enforced. In Liverpool, Thomas Blackmore, Thomas Williamson, Ralph Massam, Edward Williamson, Gilbert Formby, and Richard Percivall, all of whom had occupied the civic chair during the Commonwealth, were removed from the office of aldermen. The town-clerk and seven councillors were also ejected from office.⁹¹

Having thus rid the corporate bodies of members suspected of disloyalty, the next step was to remove from the Church those ministers who had intruded during the late upheaval, the 'blacksmiths' and 'shoemakers' of cavalier scribblers. The oaths and yoke demanded by Clarendon were forthcoming in a bill 'for the uniformity of public prayers, and the administration of the sacraments,' which provided that all ministers should declare their 'unfeigned assent and consent to all and everything contained and prescribed in and by the book intituled "The Book of Common Prayer . . ."'. Moreover, all ministers and schoolmasters were required, upon pain of expulsion from their livings, to declare the unlawfulness of taking up arms against the king, or against those commissioned by him, and their abhorrence of the Solemn League and Covenant. The bill had been read for the first time in the Commons on June 29th, 1661, that is to say, before Charles and his synod had finally failed to arrive at a basis of settlement.⁹² On July 10th, it was sent up to the Lords, and on the re-assembling of parliament in November, Charles commended the work to their care. Referring to the many rumours of plots⁹³ which had been in circulation, 'There are,' he said, 'many wicked instruments, still as active as ever, who labour day and night to disturb

⁹¹ 'Liverpool Municipal Records,' pp. 238-240. That there were other means of purging corporations and councils is shown by a letter from the King to the Lord Mayor of London. He demands that strict orders be given to the several wards for a quiet election of persons well affected towards Church and State; if others are returned he will be forced to an unwilling change of the elections. (C.S.P.D., 1661-2, p. 179.)

⁹² See 'Documents,' p. 386; and C. J., viii, p. 285.

⁹³ See e.g. Hatton Corresp., i, p. 22. Charles Lyttelton to Lord Hatton: 'Wee have beeene mightyly alarumed heere with reports of plottis from London, and heere is very strict eys over all the fanatic party, orders being given out to disarne divers, at least to search for armes in theyr houses.' (Aug. 31, 1661.) Burnet (i, 326) says that the plots were mere inventions, concocted to win over those who deemed the act much too severe.

the public peace, and to make all people jealous of each other. It will be worthy of your care and vigilance, to provide proper remedies for the diseases of that kind Those which concern religion, I confess to you are too hard for me ; and therefore I do commend them to your care and deliberation, which can best provide for them.' Yet in March, 1662, fearing that the zeal of the Commons would outrun all limits, Charles and Clarendon submitted to the Lords, for inclusion in the bill, a proviso 'that it shall and may be lawful for the King's Majesty, by any writing and in such manner as to his wisdom shall seem fit, so far to dispense with any such Minister as upon the Nine and twentieth Day of May, 1660, was and at present is seised of any benefice or Ecclesiastical promotion and of whose merit towards him his Majesty shall be sufficiently informed and satisfied, that no such Minister shall be deprived or lose his benefice or other Eccles. promotion for not wearing the Surplice or for not signing with the sign of the Cross in Baptism.'⁹⁴

Charles's policy is sufficiently clear. He was dependent upon parliament for supplies, and was continually in want of money, partly owing to the extravagant demands of his mistresses, partly because the taxes never reached the sum estimated. Consequently, until he was assured of an independent income, he could not oppose the wishes of the Commons.⁹⁵ Moreover, it was to his interest that to him alone should the dissenters look for relief. If with their aid he could gain recognition of the crown's power of dispensation, it would, he trusted, be no difficult task to include Roman Catholics in a general indulgence.

In the House of Lords, despite the vehement opposition of the bishops, led by Sheldon, the proviso was favourably received, but the Commons instantly rejected it.⁹⁶ Indeed, the Lords throughout took up the more conciliatory attitude, so much so that the Presbyterian ministers of Suffolk were said to have declared that the Lords' House was the house of the Lord, and so prayed for it.⁹⁷ They endeavoured to amend the prescribed oaths, to secure for ejected ministers some portion of the living (as had been granted to the ejected royalist clergy), and to prevent the application of the provisions of the bill to schoolmasters. On all points they had to give way before the bitter intolerance of the Commons. Thus on May 19th, 1662, the bill passed, and

⁹⁴ H.M.C.R., vii, pp. 162-3.

⁹⁵ See Cosin Corresp., ii, Introd., xviii, note.

⁹⁶ Christie's 'Shaftesbury,' i, 263 and App. vi.

⁹⁷ Cosin Corresp. ii, Introd., xviii, note.

dissenters were left to take what comfort they could from the Chancellor's assurance that the king would never suffer the weak to undergo the punishment ordained for the wicked.⁹⁸

During the whole of the time spent in the various attempts at settlement, persecution of dissenters received little check. Nay, it rather received encouragement from justices and cavalier writers. It is true that in part the dissenters themselves were responsible, by their deeds⁹⁹ and by their writings, for the penalties they incurred.¹⁰⁰ Nevertheless, many innocent suffered. Ministers, despite the reiterated promises, were harassed by mayors and churchwardens, who ordered them to use the Common Prayer, and when they refused complained that they were being 'denied their mother's milk,' and threatened them with indictment at the assize or suspension. Meeting-houses were forcibly entered, the keys taken and the doors nailed up.¹⁰¹ Laymen, especially in Wales, were dragged to prison there to lie 'in stinking gaols' until such time as the authorities saw fit to release them.¹⁰² According to an estimate published in 1661, 5,400 Quakers had been imprisoned since the king's return, of whom 552 still remained in prison, 58 of them in Lancashire.¹⁰³ All this before a single penal statute had been passed.

⁹⁸ L. J., xi, 476.

⁹⁹ 'At Macclesfield, villains cut out the King's arms from the proclamation.' (C.S.P.D., 1661-2, p. 385.)

¹⁰⁰ Such pamphlets as the following, issued at such a time, did no possible service to the cause of dissenters. (1) 'Mirabilis Annus,' containing in its preface these words: 'But amongst the Hellish rout of prophanes and ungodly men, let especially the Oppressors and Persecutors of the True Church look to themselves, when the hand of the Lord in strange Signes and Wonders is lifted up among them . . .' (2) 'A Fanaticks Alarm,' by Henry Addis. (3) 'A Plain Record or Declaration shewing The Original Root and Race of Persecutors,' by H. F.

¹⁰¹ Adam Martindale, p. 159. C.S.P.D., 1661-2, p. 267. O. Heywood's Diaries, i, p. 179. Harmer MSS., iii.

¹⁰² For accounts of the sufferings see:—(1) 'Sion's Groans for her Distressed,' and the reply 'The Dew of Hermon Which fell upon the Hill of Sion.' (2) 'A Complaint of the Oppressed against Oppressors,' by John Lovewell. (3) 'Bird in the Cage,' by Vavasour Powell, quoted Rees, pp. 97-9. (4) Besse, p. 310. (5) Quarter Sessions, p. 179; &c.

¹⁰³ From 'For The King and both Houses of Parliament. Being a short Relation of the Sad Estate and Sufferings of the Innocent People of God, called Quakers.' 1661.

CHAPTER II

THE BARTHOLOMEW EJECTIONS

THE Act of Uniformity was regarded even by some Episcopalians as particularly severe in its terms. It is related that when Manchester complained to Charles that the act was so rigid that few would conform, Sheldon replied, 'I am afraid they will.'¹ Equally significant was the retort which the same bishop is reported to have made to Dr. Allen, when he lamented that the door was made so strait. 'It is no pity,' said Sheldon, 'if we had thought so many of them would have conformed, we would have made it straiter.'² Indeed, there would seem to be some ground for the belief that 'the old clergy from wrath and revenge, and the young gentry from their servile compliance with the court, and from their distaste for serious religion, were very active to carry on and complete it.' Nor, in a way, can this be wondered at. The Episcopal clergy looked upon those who had been appointed to livings during the Commonwealth as men who had not come into the church 'by the door, that is, by any legal right or lawful admission into that Sheepfold, but climbed up some other way, namely, by violence and intrusion, and therefore by Christ's own inference (they were) Thieves and Robbers.'³ Moreover, the very men who were now to suffer had themselves been guilty of many acts of injustice and intolerance. Many were still living who had been ejected by Puritan commissioners on concocted charges of profligacy and ignorance. They complained that they could still hear the cries of their impoverished wives and children, the groans and desires of scattered flocks, whose eyes turned towards them as to their lawful pastors.⁴ From such as these, the intruded clergy could not look for sympathy.

The old cavalier party received the act with joy; their rhymsters hailed it as a God-sent gift, twitting the various

¹ Bates' Works, p. 816. Palmer, i, p. 33.

² A certain peer speaking of the terms said: 'I should scarcely do so much for the Bible as they require for the Common Prayer.' (Calamy, 'Continuation,' i, p. 143.)

³ 'The Bishop of Worcester's Letter To a Friend, for Vindication of Himself from Mr. Baxter's Calumny.'

⁴ See 'The Church-Lurcher Unkennelled. Or, the true Stating of the Case betwixt Sequestered Ministers and Those that dispossessed them.' 1661.

sects on the change it would work. Thus, would-be Non-conformists are 'lectured' as to their duty and the penalty of disobedience :—

' What ayles the Anabaptists,
so much to be perplext,
The Quakers they are troubled too,
with many severall sects,
The Brownists and the Adamites,
with fift monarchies too,
In this their mad and frantic fits,
seek Protestants t' o'rethrow :
With hey ho base Quakers,
your wicked deeds all rue ;
You must to Church or Tiburn,
with Anabaptists too.

.

Your false delusions are found out,
and known by good Divines,
You have spread wicked heresies,
in rebel Cromwels times :
Hee gave you all base liberties,
to maintain his base cause,
But now return lest Squire Dunn,⁵
do catch you in his clawes.

.

The Cobblers and the Tinkers
must now forbear to Preach,
Taylors, Joyners, and Tanners,
must no false doctrine teach ;

.

You Quakers and you Dippers,
your wicked deeds all rue ;
With speed return and go to Church,
and leave that factious crew.

.

And now in the conclusion,
The Lord preserve our King,
With all his faithful subjects,
which firmly stand for him,
But as for those that are his foes,
and will not converted bee

⁵ The hangman.

Lord scatter them like dust or chaffe
unto eternity.

Now all you sects and schismatics,
this Lecture read and view ;
Fear God and honour Charles our King,
else Tiburn is your due.⁶

Nevertheless, the authorities were not too sure that the measure would be generally well received. They had received numerous warnings from their agents that trouble would ensue were the act to be enforced. Nicholas, the Secretary for State, was informed that the coast towns of the South were determined not to allow the re-introduction of the Common Prayer.⁷ Another agent had given him notice that there was great discontent for want of bread, and that if the 'Act of Conformity' came forth the people would not submit to it.⁸ There were, too, various reports as to the effect of the act on dissenting ministers. 'The Lancashire ministers talk little less than treason, and none intend to conform.'⁹ But in point of fact, the government was not in the slightest danger. The great bulk of the people of England could be relied upon for support, either as lovers of the old forms and ceremonies of the church, as haters of all dissenting sects, or as being quite indifferent on the question of religion, but strongly desirous of peace. Moreover, the class upon whom the measure would fall with most severity was the least likely to advocate or even tolerate armed resistance.

From the first it was evident that the act would drive a large number outside the pale of the established church: yet few acted hurriedly. 'The Independents and Presbyterians who could scarcely give each other a good word, on the publishing of the Act of Uniformity, held a great meeting at St. Bartholomew's, Thames Street, received the sacrament together, and appointed a fast.'¹⁰ The period between the passing of the act and the 24th August was to many ministers, no doubt, a period of great trial and anxiety. One can well picture these Puritan divines seated in their studies reviewing the period of their ministry, thinking with tears of their flocks whom they must now leave, looking with anxiety into the dark future, and at length kneeling down to seek divine guidance. 'I have a loving, though poor, docile, though ignorant People; ' writes Nathaniel Heywood, the Presby-

⁶ 'A lecture for all sects and schismatics to read.' N.D.

⁷ C.S.P.D., 1661-2, p. 98.

⁸ C.S.P.D., 1661-2, pp. 284, 356.

⁹ C.S.P.D., 1661-2, p. 441.

¹⁰ C.S.P.D., 1661-2, p. 396.

terian vicar of Ormskirk, 'they flock in very great numbers to the Ordinances, and I have hopes of doing some good (it may be already begun) amongst them: I had some notion to Conform, but I will not change upon any account whatsoever; let me have your prayers, help me for this poor people which I love as my own Child, and long after in the bowels of Christ.'¹¹

The act came into operation on St. Bartholomew's Day, August 24th. The day would appear to have been specially selected so as to rob the outgoing incumbents of tithes which they would have been able to gather had they been allowed to remain a little longer. Again, copies of the revised Prayer Book were not on sale in London until August 6th, which meant that in certain parts of the country they could not be obtained before August 22nd. Lancashire ministers could not possibly secure copies before that date.¹² Still, men knew sufficiently well what the Prayer Book contained, and could almost decide without seeing a copy. On August 17th, Presbyterians generally took leave of their congregations with admirable dignity and resignation. Baxter, at this time, turns for comfort and consolation to the God whom he so faithfully served:—

'Must I be driven from my books?
From house and goods, and dearest friends?
One of Thy sweet and gracious looks,
For more than this will make amends!' ¹³

Pepys relates that he walked to St. Dunstan's to hear the farewell sermon of Dr. Bates, who, preaching from the text 'Now the God of Peace . . . make you perfect in every good thing,' breathed forth blessing where one might have expected curses.¹⁴ Few made more than a passing reference to the causes which had led to their ejection: even these slight references were made with good taste. Joseph Caryl, taking leave of his congregation at St. Magnus, London, thus laid before them the reason for his refusal to take the oaths: 'The lips of the righteous know what is acceptable to God, for they are acquainted with his Rule, and God hath shewed them his Covenant; he hath shewed them the pattern of his House, and the way of his Worship: now because they are

¹¹ 'Some remarks upon the life of that painful servant of God Mr. Nathaniel Heywood,' by Sir H. Ashhurst, 1695, pp. 21-2.

¹² Adam Martindale, p. 163. *Mercurius Publicus*, July 31 to Aug. 6. Perhaps too much has been made of this accident. Surely the non-appearance of the book constituted 'some lawful impediment' held by the Act to be sufficient reason for not reading the Liturgy on Aug. 17.

¹³ Richard Baxter, 1662.

¹⁴ Pepys Diary, Aug. 17.

pretty well skilled, and know what is acceptable to God, therefore they will run any hazard, undergo any affliction, rather than do anything that will not please God, or be hurtful to their own consciences; they are afraid of losing their peace, and comfort, and joy with God, therefore they will not let go the wages of God, as Job saith, Job 27. 6 "I hold fast my integrity, and my heart shall not reproach me as long as I live:" as if he had said "You my friend have reproached me, but I am resolved my heart shall not reproach me as long as I live."¹⁵

Disturbances were few and far between. Pepys records but one case, that occurring at a church in Friday Street, where the young people, banding together, cried 'Porridge!' instead of listening silently and reverently while the Book of Common Prayer was being read. The newspapers of the day noted with evident satisfaction how noiselessly a great change had been effected, though 'a few Phanaticks (raked together from both sides of London Bridge) laboured to disturb the Ministers in one or two Churches, whereof themselves have small reason at present to glory and may have less hereafter.'¹⁶ Perhaps the only complaint which reached the ears of Sheldon came from the Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry, who had seen fit to call before him one Billingsley, of Chesterfield, for asserting in a farewell sermon that 'the prelatical ministers had been ejected for murder, drunkenness, whoredom and other sins, while such as he were put out for being too holy and too careful of Religion.'¹⁷

With little excitement and less noise about 1,800 ministers,¹⁸ were deprived of their means of livelihood, resisting all attempts to persuade them to remain.¹⁹ In some

¹⁵ See 'The Farewell Sermons of the Late London Ministers, Preached August 17th, 1662,' London, 1662. See this work satirised in 'Cabala,' 1663. Most of the government supporters obstinately refused to see that it was a matter of conscience, many suggesting that it was a case of 'a bad spleen being called a good conscience.' With more reason they pointed to the lengths which 'conscience' would allow men to go. 'If conscience bids them Kill the King; Rob the Church; and Tear up the Foundations of Both Governments; They'll do it: Nay more—This has been done, and Providence it self Proclaim'd for the Doer of it.' ('A Memento directed to all Those Truly Reverence the Memory of King Charles the Martyr,' by R. L'Estrange.)

¹⁶ *Mercurius Publicus*, Aug. 21-28.

¹⁷ Tanner MSS., 48, p. 49.

¹⁸ See Appendix III for form of notice of ejection.

¹⁹ Pamphlets were issued with the purpose of persuading dissenting ministers to take the oaths. See e.g. 'The Reformed Presbyterian; humbly offering to the consideration of all pious and peaceable Spirits, several Arguments for obedience to the Act for Uniformity as the only way to Unity, and endeavouring to show . . . that there is nothing required . . . that is forbidden by the Law of God,' by R. L.

places the parishioners were glad to see the back of their minister. For example, the Bp. of Exeter writes to Sheldon: 'Mr. Goldster, the gt. presbyterian min'r. of Chagford was with me lately to complain, that whereas he had subscribed (indeed 2 days after S. Bartholomew) the people of the parish do notwithstanding keep him out of the Church, and have petition'd his Patron not to present him again.'²⁰ On the other hand, there is the story of the poor man who said to Nathaniel Heywood: 'Ah, Mr. Heywood, we would gladly have you preach still in the church.' 'Yes,' said Heywood, 'I would as gladly preach as you can desire it, if I could do it with a safe conscience in conforming;' to which the man made reply, 'Oh! Sir, many a man nowadays makes a great gash in his conscience; cannot you make a little nick in yours?'²¹ Where a man was so popular, provided that the neighbouring justices made no objection, he was allowed to occupy the pulpit until a new incumbent was appointed. There were places, however, where those in authority preferred to lock the church doors rather than suffer a dissenter to re-occupy the pulpit. When the followers of Jolly of Altham found the doors of Norbury Chapel locked, they promptly burst them open, but by so doing caused Jolly to be summoned before the Council.²² In many cases not only were the incumbents not allowed to preach after their refusal to subscribe, but they were also subject to many petty annoyances. After a time, some of the ejected were persuaded to conform, induced to do so probably by the hardships to which they were reduced. A large number, estimated by a contemporary at 1,342,²³ conformed at once, received re-ordination and retained their livings. The flexibility of conscience shewn by one such—Richard Lee, of Hatfield—drew from Wilde, the Presbyterian royalist, 'The Recantation of a Penitent Proteus; or, The Changeling in the Pulpit,' in which he holds up to ridicule the unfortunate Lee:

'Three times already I have turned my coat,
Three times already I have changed my note.
I'll make it four, and four-and-twenty more,
And turn the compass round, 'ere I'll give o'er.

²⁰ Ward, Bp. of Exeter to Sheldon. Tanner MSS., 48, p. 48.

²¹ Ashurst's 'Heywood,' pp. 14-15.

²² Calamy's Abridgement of Baxter's 'Hist. of his Own Times,' ii, pp. 124-5.

²³ 'Ichabod, or the Five Groans of the Church,' 1663: attributed to Ken.

From Hatfield to St. Albans I did ride,
The Army called for me to be their guide ;
There I so spurr'd her, that I made her fling
Not only dirt but blood upon my King.

My Cambridge sins, my Budgen sins are vile,
My Essex sins, my sins in Ely-isle,
My Leicester sins, my Hatfield sins are many,
But my St. Albans sins more red than any.

Take from my neck this robe—a rope's more fit,
And turn this surplice to a pennance sheet ;
This pulpit is too good to act my part,
More fit to preach at Tyburn in a cart.'

Some few, though they did not conform, were enabled by peculiar circumstances, to keep their places of worship. Thus John Angier continued to preach at Denton Chapel, Lancashire, because he was so generally beloved—' the worst of men had no heart to meddle with him '—and those justices that were not related to him, held him in great respect.²⁴ The stipend was small and the two principal families in the neighbourhood were decided Puritans. For similar reasons Thomas Crompton of Toxteth Park; Thomas Gregg of St. Helens, John Jolly, and Robert Birch of Birch, preached regularly in what were really chapels belonging to the national Church.²⁵

Many of the ejected were plunged into the depths of poverty, dragging out a painful existence by work of various kinds. ' Hundreds of able Ministers, with their Wives and Children, had neither House nor Bread : For their former Maintenance served them but for the time, and few of them laid up anything for the future :'²⁶ For many of them had not past 30 or 40 l. per annum apiece, and most but about 100 l. : and few had any considerable Estates of their own. The Peoples Poverty was so great, that they were not able much to relieve their Ministers. The Jealousy of the State, and the Malice of their Enemies were so great, that People that were willing durst not be known to give to their ejected Pastors, least it should be said that they maintained Schism, or were making Collections for some Plot or Insurrection.'

²⁴ ' Works of Oliver Heywood,' i, p. 545.

²⁵ The churchwardens had sometimes to answer. Thus, in 1663, articles were promoted in the Consistory Court of Chester against James Rothwell, Warden of Cockey Chapel for allowing several persons, who refused to conform to the discipline of the Church, to preach publicly in the Chapel of Cockey. (Notitia Cestriensis, i, pp. 105-6 note.)

²⁶ Baxter, ii, 385.

An anonymous writer, supposed to be a minister named Hook, asserts in a letter to New England that Dr. Cornelius Burgess, who used to have £1,000 a year, had now to beg his bread.²⁷ Some ministers taught in schools, some managed to get into families, some cut tobacco and obtained other mean employments. Such of the gentry as adhered to the Nonconformist party very liberally supported and relieved distressed ministers.²⁸ In the diary of John Argor, ejected from Braintree, Essex, are many entries noting the kindness he received from friends. 'Jan. 2, 1663, I received £5 2s. This was when I was laid aside for not conforming. So graciously did the Lord provide for his unworthy servant. Jan. 3, I received £3 19s. The Lord have the praise. And I received £3 15s. which was gathered for me by my friends. This great experience of God's gracious providence I received at one and the same time. All glory be to God, blessed for ever. Apl. 2, 1663, I received £5 12s., so graciously doth the Lord regard the low condition of his servant.'²⁹ Henry Stubbs, minister of a church in Wells, Somerset, was offered £5 a year while he was in need,³⁰ and it was generally believed that Calamy had received, in one week, as much as £500 for distribution to deserving cases.³¹ Indeed, so generously were they treated that the uncharitable ventured to hint that they lost nothing by their nonconformity, but were fed as well and lived as much 'to the pleasure of the flesh in plenty,' as they had hitherto.³²

Deprived of public places of worship, Nonconformists as a whole flocked to private conventicles. Some few, less intolerant than their brethren, continued to worship, occasionally if not regularly, at the churches they had hitherto attended. The question whether they could conscientiously continue so to worship was made the subject of much pamphlet warfare.³³ Those that preferred to sever all connection with the Episcopal Church, worshipped only under great difficulties, tracked and driven almost to desperation by a host of needy and ruthless informers, to whom the late civil struggles had given birth. Lieutenants of counties were ordered to join military and civil power to suppress private

²⁷ C.S.P.D., 1663-4, p. 64.

²⁸ Adam Martindale, 173.

²⁹ David's 'Essex,' p. 356.

³⁰ C.S.P.D., 1661-2, p. 565.

³¹ 'Extracts from a Lancashire diary,' p. 14. C.S.P.D., 1664-5, p. 144.

³² Baxter, iii, 104.

³³ See 'Reformation not Separation,' 'The Hard way to Heaven,' 'Jerub-baal, or the Pleader impleaded.'

meetings for worship, and to take up all teachers.³⁴ Very quickly it was perceived that it was worse than useless to make martyrs of them. ' Sending them to gaol does little good,' writes a correspondent; ' they glory in their sufferings.'³⁵

The act was extended to include others than clergy and schoolmasters, and was even put in operation beyond the seas. In May, 1663, all postmasters were ordered, upon pain of dismissal to bring in certificates of their conformity.³⁶ In foreign parts where English merchants had factories and companies, the act was enforced. Thus in 1662, a correspondent writes to Ambrose Barnes:³⁷ ' We here at Hamburg are called with you to be partakers of the sufferings of Christ. Mr. Hammond, at the malitious instigation of some among us, is by the magistracy forbid to preach in his own house. We, in some respects, are in a worse condition than you in England; and like to be so long as these men reign. We have oaths that you are freed from; and two, for refusing, are threatened with disfranchisement. Snares and ginns are laying by wicked men, to ruin us in our estates, liberties, and privileges.' Even as late as 1669, on a complaint made to the Council by Sheldon, the East India Company was ordered to bring back the ' schismatic' preachers Hooke and Thompson, and to send out orthodox and legally ordained ministers.³⁸

Such an act, so widely applied, could not fail to have great results. For the first time since the Reformation, no orders were countenanced except those received from the hands of bishops.³⁹ Fronted with the alternatives of re-ordination or ejection, the great majority of the most conscientious dissenters withdrew from the Church. Without doubt, the Church lost the very cream of the dissenting ministers, retaining those only whose convictions were weak and ill-formed. The places rendered vacant by the non-subscribing clergy were either filled by inferior men, or left vacant for years. Piteous indeed are some of the complaints made to Sheldon. ' Some of the most populous and considerable places in my diocese,' writes the Bishop of Exeter at the close

³⁴ C.S.P.D., 1661-2, p. 531.

³⁵ C.S.P.D., 1661-2, p. 539.

³⁶ C.S.P.D., 1662-4, p. 149. This was, no doubt, intended as a safeguard against the opening of official correspondence by those suspected of disloyalty towards the government.

³⁷ Ambrose Barnes, p. 193.

³⁸ Tanner MSS., 44, pp. 162 and 100.

³⁹ Dexter, p. 667.

of 1663,⁴⁰ 'have stood void ever since Aug. 24, '62, and there is hardly one parish (in a certain district) where I have not met with complaint either that they have no minister or a pitiful ignorant one, or the minister hath complained for want of sufficient maintenance.' In other places it was said that communion had not been administered for years.⁴¹ Little wonder that the Church began to lose her hold upon the people. Her clergy, in whom 'religion had become faint,'⁴² were on all sides charged with leading corrupt and scandalous lives. 'Many of us,' writes Granville in a visitation charge, 'make our callings too cheap and contemptible, so often-times invalidating our ministry: 1. By mean conversations, &c., at feasts and the like, without doing or receiving spiritual advantage. 2. By secular (sordid) employments, &c. . . . 3. By unsuitable recreations, &c., frequenting markets and fairs, horse races, hunting.' Despite the earnest efforts of many bishops, the ministerial office continued to decline in public estimation. Before the close of the reign, the 'contempt of the clergy' was a by-word. They were the common mark of satirists.⁴³ They were branded as ignorant, drunken, and full of pride. The Duke of Buckingham hurled this taunt against them:

'Against a bribe, court judges shall decide,
The city knavery want, the clergy pride;
Ere that black malice in my rhymes you find,
That wrongs a worthy man, or hurts a friend.'⁴⁴

Lewis Griffin complains 'to the Reverend Bishops' that their clergy lack all the virtues that go to the making, not only of a worthy priest, but even of a respected man:—

'Ye, mitred Members of the House of Peers,
The King's Church-wardens, and God's Overseers,
Fathers in Christ, we your poor Children cry
Oh give us Bread of Life, or else we die.

Into what darkness will our Church be hurl'd
If such as these be call'd The Light o' th' World?
These that have nought to prove themselves devout
Save only this, That Cromwell turn'd them out.

⁴⁰ Western MSS., 28,181, p. 142.

⁴¹ Western MSS., 28,181, p. 236.

⁴² Western MSS. 28,184, p. 121.

⁴³ 'Granville Remains,' ii, pp. 20-1. Cf. Western MSS., 28,181, p. 205.

'Ichabod.' Western MSS., 28,181, *passim*, Tanner MSS.

⁴⁴ D. of Bucks, 'A satire upon the Follies of the men of the age.'

Nor is it reason all should be maintain'd
 Ith' Church, who took Degrees, and were Ordain'd ;
 For He that after proves a Drunken Beast,
 Degrades himself from Man, much more from Priest.

Then Oh ye Bishops, heal these sad disasters,
 We do not call for Rectors but for Pastors ;
 A Priest should lead his Parish as a Guide,
 Not leap upon their Galled backs and ride,
 For 'tis our Mother Church's grand disgrace,
 That these black patches stick upon her face.⁴⁵

The ministers driven from the Church are described by the Earl of Peterborough as 'sober, vigilant and industrious.'⁴⁶ Their industry was shown in the formation of Nonconformist bodies worshipping in houses or deserted chapels. In London particularly, buildings were speedily erected to accommodate the congregations which followed the ejected ministers. Henceforth dissent, outside the pale of the English Church, became a factor with which statesmen and bishops had to reckon.

⁴⁵ 'The Asses Complaint against Balaam: or, The Cry of the Country against Ignorant and Scandalous Ministers,' by Lewis Griffin, 1663. Also 'Rules of Life,' by the same author. This contains a passage strangely tolerant, were it not for the conclusion: 'Men are not Saved or Condemned for being called by this, or that name, but through Faith, or Unbelief; a Devout Papist is better than a Hypocritical Protestant, a Godly Presbyterian than a Debauched Conformist; and there is room in Heaven for Religious Anabaptists, and Well-meaning Quakers.' Griffin's pamphlets called forth many in reply and not a few in his support. 'Balaam's Reply to the Asse: or the Clergies Answer to the Countryes Complaint,' by H. W., was a refutation of the charges made by Griffin. The following pamphlets arising from this controversy were collected and published in book form by Blunt:—'Cur Percussisti? or Balaam reproved for Cudgelling the Asse,' by H. G.; 'The Asse beaten for Bawling,' by Edmund Cooper; 'Work for Cooper, or a Bone for the Doctor to pick,' by John Dauncey; 'A Dose for Chamberlain and a Pill for the Doctor,' by William Cook; 'Balaam's Asse Cudgell'd,' by Robert Chamberlaine; 'Doctor Cooper at Work upon Dauncey's Bones and Cook licking his Fingers after his Dose and Pill,' by Nat: Wildoe. Blunt makes the observation: 'Reader perhaps you may as well as I wonder that men of almost all sorts, as here you find them, should have such small employment, as to busie their brains in cudgelling a poor silly Asse from one to another: and in my opinion render themselves all such.'

⁴⁶ C.S.P.D., 1663-4, p. 496.

CHAPTER III

FROM THE ACT OF UNIFORMITY TO THE FALL OF CLARENDON

THOUGH the Act of Uniformity was being rigidly enforced, Nonconformists, more especially Presbyterians, were not without friends at court. Manchester and Albemarle, their old co-religionists, were willing, if not eager, to help them. To their advice that a deputation from the ejected ministers should put their case personally before the king, the divines were the more favourably disposed because Charles had just given proof of his natural leniency by ordering many Quakers and others imprisoned in the gaols of London and Middlesex to be released on the occasion of the Queen Consort's first appearance at the royal palace of Westminster.¹ Accordingly, representatives of the ejected city clergy, encouraged also, it would seem, by Clarendon and Lord Chief Justice Bridgeman, waited on Charles on August 27th,² when they presented to him 'The humble petition of several ministers in your city of London,' appealing to the king's 'princely wisdom and compassion.'³

Charles had apparently intended to offer an indulgence some months earlier, but had been dissuaded from this step by Sir Henry Bennet, afterwards Lord Arlington, on the ground that it would, at that stage, be received merely as a sign of fear, and incite discontented spirits to make some attempt on the government.⁴ Now, Charles promised the ministers that he would exercise his influence on their behalf. True to his promise, he informed the Council, probably on the following day, that he intended, if it were at all feasible,

¹ C.S.P.D., 1661-2, p. 466.

² Adam Martindale, p. 167. B.M. Add. MSS., 10,116, p. 375. Clarendon, 'Continuation,' 339. Pepys, Sept. 2, 1662. Ranke, iii, 375. Burnet, i, 342.

³ See this satirised in 'Cabala, or an Impartial Account of the Non-conformists Private Designs, Actings and Wages,' 1663, attributed to Sir John Birkenhead . . . 'It was agreed that now his Majesty saw the inclination of the people by the late tumults, he should be petitioned in the behalf of the faithful Ministers to this effect: "May it please your most excellent Majesty, whereas we are many, and our party very considerable for their Interest with God and Men, as you would enjoy peace and tranquility in your Kingdoms, or any quiet in your Throne, we must intreat you to let us do what we please, and to set no Law or Government over us, for we cannot endure them; and upon condition we have what we desire, your Petitioners shall pray for you."

⁴ Lister, iii, 201.

to issue a declaration of indulgence to all Protestant dissenters from the Church of England. The scheme was wrecked by Sheldon, who, with all the bishops in town, had been called to this meeting of the Council, although he was not yet a member.⁵ In offering bitter opposition to the king's proposal, he declared that if it were carried his position would be rendered intolerable, for he had not only turned out the non-subscribers, but had already filled their places. He had even offered affront to some noblemen by over-riding the rights of patrons.⁶ Sheldon carried his point: the Council decided against Charles, but though he was defeated he refused to abandon his policy. If the Council would not give its consent, then the Council must be ignored.

According to Clarendon, Charles played but a secondary part.⁷ All blame is laid upon the shoulders of Ashley, Robarts, the Lord Privy Seal, and Sir Henry Bennet, who were not only averse to persecution, but also desired to unite the English people in view of a possible war against the Dutch. They had, Clarendon asserts, prepared an elaborate schedule showing the amount each Nonconformist and Roman Catholic would be willing to pay for the free exercise of his religion.⁸ But there is little doubt that Clarendon himself acquiesced in the scheme. When Sheldon had ruined the king's scheme, Charles, with the help of his immediate circle of friends, prepared a declaration of indulgence. Clarendon, confined to his room by sickness, had it read to him once or twice by Bennet, suggested alterations and generally approved of it, though he warned Bennet that by the time he had written as many declarations as Clarendon himself had done, he would find that they were 'a very ticklish commodity.'⁹ On December 26th, 1662, the declaration was issued, professedly in the interests of trade and of the internal peace of the kingdom. Once again the king promised to move parliament to grant religious freedom, this time not to Protestant Nonconformists alone, but also to Roman Catholics.¹⁰

From all quarters there arose a cry of 'No Popery! No Popery!' Nonconformists themselves were half inclined to add their voices to the general clamour. Charles, suspecting

⁵ *Mercurius Publicus*, Aug. 28 to Sept. 4. Parker, 'De rebus sui tempore,' p. 27. Sheldon was sworn a member of the Privy Council on April 3, 1663. See *Mercurius Publicus* of that date.

⁶ C.S.P.D., 1663-4, p. 65.

⁷ 'Continuation,' 583. See Clarke's 'Jas. II,' i, 428.

⁸ Cf. Christie, 'Shaftesbury,' i, 266. Butler's Posthumous Works, i, 58.

⁹ Lister, iii, pp. 232-233. Burnet, i, 315-16. 'Continuation,' 142.

¹⁰ For full text see 'Documents,' pp. 460-468.

that his first open attempt to indulge Roman Catholics would have this effect, tried to conciliate the leading Nonconformist divines. 'The King sent for Mr. Calamy, Dr. Bates and Manton, and some say Mr. Baxter,¹¹ and promised to restore them to their livings, pitying that such men should be vacant, and protesting against popery. Before they went in to the King, people said "What do these Presbyters here?" but when they came out, they said, "Your servant, Dr. Calamy, &c." They were told that a bill for liberty would be sent to the House, but they could have their liberty on subscribing 13 inoffensive articles touching doctrine.' They very wisely decided to make no promises, influenced partly by their strong protestantism, partly by their own intolerance, and also because they knew that the foundations of liberty so gained would be decidedly infirm. Sheldon, who had previously expressed qualified approval of the declaration, now hurled his anathemas at the head of his royal master.¹² 'Your Majesty hath propounded a Toleration of Religion: I beseech you Sir, take into your consideration, what the Act is, next what the Consequences may be. By your Act you labour to set up that most damnable and heretical Doctrine of the Church of Rome, whore of Babylon.' He warned Charles that he was drawing upon the kingdom in general, and upon himself in particular, 'God's heavy wrath and indignation.'¹³ The bishops of Ireland in a body protested to parliament. Yet a learned conformist is reported to have said that if ever a divine sentence was in the mouth of any king, it was in the mouth of Charles when he composed the declaration.¹⁴

To the re-assembled Houses, on February 18th, 1663, Charles recommended the policy expressed in his declaration. 'If the dissenters,' he said, 'will demean themselves peaceably and modestly under the Government, I could heartily wish I had such power of indulgence, to use upon occasions, as might not needlessly force them out of the kingdom, or staying here, give them cause to conspire against the peace of it,'¹⁵—strange words from one who had but recently actually published a declaration granting indulgence. In the House of Lords, Robarts introduced a bill to give the effect of law to the late declaration, by enabling the king to

¹¹ C.S.P.D., 1663-4, pp. 63-5. Baxter refused to go.

¹² Cosin Corresp., ii, p. 101.

¹³ 'Fair-Warning or XXV Reasons Against Toleration and Indulgence of Popery,' 1663.

¹⁴ Kennet, iii, 229.

¹⁵ L. J., xi, 478.

dispense with the Act of Uniformity.¹⁶ Read for the first time, February 23rd, it passed various stages, but Clarendon and the bishops spoke so violently against it, that it was dropped. Clarendon was to pay for that opposition. 'This,' says James II, 'did not a little cool the King's warm heart towards the Chancellor.'¹⁷ Not content with throwing out the bill, the Commons drew up a remonstrance against the policy set forth both in the declaration and in the speech from the throne, protesting that it was 'in no sort advisable that there be any indulgence to such persons who presume to dissent from the Act of Uniformity and from the religion established.'¹⁸ It was, they said, a thing without precedent: it would establish schism by a law: it was unbecoming the wisdom and dignity of parliament to pass a law to weaken and frustrate one passed in the previous session: it would tend to the increase of sects and sectaries: it would expose the king to the importunity of every sect or opinion: and it was likely to occasion great disturbances.

Though the action of parliament made void the king's declaration, the knowledge that Charles was himself averse to persecution was not without effect. Generally speaking, there was less suffering during the succeeding year, except in the metropolis, where Sir John Robinson, 'that devouring wolf,' had succeeded to the mayoralty in October, 1662. It had the effect also of infusing further hopes of toleration, and even of comprehension into the hearts of Nonconformists.¹⁹ Men wrote and discussed of new methods of settlement. 'My Lords and Gentlemen;' wrote one, 'I am come from the dead. Will you believe me? Beware, beware of two Destroyers more dangerous than all, Blind Zeal and Godly Ignorance.'²⁰ The writings of Sir Francis Bacon, James I, and others on the subject were resurrected,²¹ while a certain W. C., a Quaker, suggested to the King the worn-out method of summoning peaceable prelates, Presbyters and Independents to establish church government, incidentally advising the King to live chastely with his consort,²² and to silence 'lying spirits.' Few, if any, of the pamphleteers thoroughly understood the absolute dependence of Charles

¹⁶ For draft of the bill see H.M.C.R., viii, p. 167.

¹⁷ Clarke's 'Jas. II,' i, p. 428.

¹⁸ C. J., viii, 443.

¹⁹ Baxter, ii, pp. 430, 433.

²⁰ 'A Speech visibly spoken in the Presence of the Lords and Commons, assembled in Parliament, by a Ghost, in a white Sheet of Paper.' 1663.

²¹ See e.g. 'True Peace: or a Moderate Discourse to Compose the unsettled Consciences, and Greatest Differences in Ecclesiastical Affairs.' 1663.

²² C.S.P.D., 1663-4, p. 175.

for money grants upon parliament, or the bigoted episcopalian spirit of the Commons. Even while these paper settlements were being made and solutions offered, parliament was engaged upon a measure described by Pepys as a 'too devilish a severe act against conventicles, beyond all moderation.'²³ In spite of protests from the Lower House, the Lords purposely delayed the bill, so that it failed to become law. They also refused to pass, as it stood, a bill sent up from the Commons, 'for the relief of such persons as by sickness or other impediment, are disabled from subscribing the Declaration in the Act of Uniformity, and explanatory of part of the said act.'²⁴ The committee of the Lords offered sundry amendments, including a clause to the effect that the declaration and subscription of 'assent and consent' should be understood only as to the practice of and obedience to the act.²⁵ Knowing well that this same 'assent and consent' had proved a stumbling-block in the way of many dissenters who might otherwise have conformed, the Lords welcomed the proposed change; not, however, unanimously, for twelve peers desired permission to enter a protest. Their action was unnecessary, for the Commons refused so much as to consider the proposal: the Lords consented to omit it. Thus, again, as in the case of the Act of Uniformity, the more tolerant proposals of the Upper House had to be surrendered before the determined opposition of the Commons.

The dejected despair of Nonconformists was the greater, because they had been raised to a ferment of hope by an event that occurred during this session. On July 10th, 1663, the Earl of Bristol impeached the Earl of Clarendon, already looked upon by Nonconformists as their arch-enemy. The mere prospect of his ruin resulted in an increased activity of all who were under disabilities. 'The Sectaries, especially the Anabaptists met more confidently than before; the recusants likewise splendidly appareled.'²⁶ 'Baxter preached at Lady Colt's house, and had a great meeting; some report that they shall preach more publicly soon.'²⁷ They were doomed to disappointment. Although 'all the world did judge the Chancellor to be falling since Sir H. Bennet was brought in,'²⁸ the Chancellor had not yet made himself

²³ Pepys, Mar. 27, 1663. 'Bills against Popery, Quakers, Presbyters, Conventicles, and what not; and yet the Revenue and Militia where they were . . .' (H.M.C.R. Ormonde MSS., ii. 53.)

²⁴ L. J. xi, 564. July 18, 1663.

²⁵ L. J., xi, 573, 577.

²⁶ Ranke, iii, 410 note.

²⁷ C.S.P.D., 1663-4, p. 323.

²⁸ Pepys, July 10, 1663.

thoroughly obnoxious to the Commons, nor could the king yet afford to lose him. The judges very rightly decided that the charges exhibited against Clarendon did not amount to treason. Bristol fled; the accused was to all appearances as powerful as ever.

Had Bristol succeeded, there is little doubt that he would have tried to strengthen his position by securing toleration for all and every sect. He would, by this means, have won over not only the sufferers, but also a large body of moderate men, who viewed with positive distaste the extreme attitude of many ecclesiastics and civil officers. 'Would to God,' exclaimed Pepys, as he saw peaceable and loyal citizens being dragged through the streets to gaol, for no other offence than that of worshipping God according to their convictions, 'they would either conform, or be more wise and not be catched.'²⁹ Justices in many parts resolutely refused to convict. At Hereford, for example, the grand jury presented only 150 of these 'Neros kneaded up of blood and dirt,' as the informer inaptly describes all who do not conform, 'and not more than twenty of these were Protestants.'³⁰ Similar complaints came from Uffington, Montacute, Norwich, Newcastle and Yarmouth. The Bishop of Exeter complained, probably with a certain amount of justice, that the Court interfered to prevent the execution of the law. 'Your Grace will easily conceive, when you shall be informed, that the only persons in this city who have had the heart and courage to endeavour an obedience to the laws, have been check'd and discouraged for their labour, and some put out of employment, as being too pragmatical and forward to draw the people to obedience.'³¹ Sir Thomas Bridges, of Bristol, summoned to appear before the Council, was given to understand that his rigorous proceedings against Nonconformists were not agreeable to His Majesty.³² Calamy, imprisoned in Newgate on January 5th, 1663, for preaching at St. Mary's, Aldermanbury, was released the next week by order of Charles, on the ground that his offence had been committed 'with the privity of several lords of the Council.'³³

Wilde, as usual, made use of the incident for a pointed satire on the bishops:—

²⁹ Pepys, Aug. 7, 1664.

³⁰ C.S.P.D., 1663-4, p. 295.

³¹ Western MSS., 28, 181, p. 142. Cf. pp. 144, 148.

³² C.S.P.D., 1663-4, p. 287.

³³ The release of Calamy was made the subject of complaint to the House of Lords, but it was decided that the complaint was not well grounded. (*Mercurius Publicus*, Jan. 1-8, 1663: C.S.P.D., 1663-4, p. 10.)

This page I send you Sir, your Newgate Fate
 Not to condole, but to congratulate.
 I envie not our Mitred men, their Places,
 Their rich Preferments, nor their richer Faces.

But my heart truly grudges (I confess)
 That you thus loaded are with happiness ;
 For so it is : And you more blessed are
 In Peter's Chain, than if you set in's Chair.

What though it be a gaol ? Shame and Disgrace
 Rise only from the Crime, not from the place.

Indeed the place did for your presence call ;
 Prisons do want perfuming most of all.

Let us hear the offences :—

First, It is prov'd that you being dead in Law
 (As if you car'd not for that death a straw)
 Did walk and haunt your Church, as if you'd scare
 Away the Reader and his Common Prayer.
 Nay, 'twill be prov'd you did not only walk,
 But like a Puritan your Ghost did talk.

Item, You play'd the Thief, and if't be so,
 Good reason (Sir) to Newgate you should go :

But your great Theft, you act it in your Church,
 (I do not mean you did your Sermon lurch,
 That's crime Canonical) but you did pray
 And preach, so that you stole men's hearts away.

Thirdly, 'tis proved, when you pray most devout
 For all good men, you leave the Bishops out :
 This makes Seer Sheldon by his powerful spel
 Conjure and lay you safe in Newgate-hell.³⁴

34 'A Poem upon the Imprisonment of Mr. Calamy in Newgate,' by Robert Wild. Many scribblers hastened to answer Wilde. 'Hudibras on Calamy's imprisonment, and Wilde's Poetry' was dedicated to the bishops:

'Most Reverend Lords, the Church's Joy and Wonder,
 Whose Lives are Light'ning, and whose Doctrine Thunder.

Awake: (for though you think the Day's your own)
 The Cage is open, and the Bird is flown:

Now enter Wild, who merrily lets fly
 The Fragments of his Pulpit-Drollery.

He tells you of a Beast (had lately been
 Within the Walls of Newgate to be seen)
 That with a Throat (wide as the Way to Hell)
 Could swallow Oaths would choke the Idol Bell,
 And burst the Dragon: yet he could not swear
 Obedience to the King, and House of Prayer.'

It must not be concluded that because Charles released Calamy and a few Quakers, and because some justices refused to convict, that therefore persecution ceased. Certain of the bishops and justices carried on a relentless crusade against nonconformity of every kind. Occasionally, the military arm was called to the aid of the civil: soldiers haled men from their meetings, beat them with their muskets, and pushed them out with the butt-end. Goods were spoiled and carried away, windows battered to pieces.³⁵ Nonconformists abstaining from attendance at church were fined 12d. a Sunday.³⁶ The possibility of citation to the bishop's court hung as a terror over timorous souls. Roger Lowe of Lancashire tells of his own terror at the thought: 'This morning John Potter and his wife and John Hasleden invented to fright me in telling me I was cited to Bishop's court for nonconformitie to common prayer, so at noon John Hasleden and I came together to dinner and he saluted me with this that I was cited, at the hearing of which I eat no more, but went to Town Heath and prayed to God to deliver me and consulted with myself how to do, but at afternoon it was found out and I was glad.'³⁷ The conviction of the accused was not infrequently secured only by gross illegalities. The members of the grand jury at Norwich were fined £10 per man for acquitting those indicted for not coming to church. The sufferings of Nonconformists while in gaol were too often terrible.³⁸ 'In which time of my imprisonment,' writes one petitioner to Charles,³⁹ 'great hath

Another reply was entitled 'An Answer to Wild or a Poem Upon the Imprisonment of Robert Wild D.D. in Cripplegate by a Brother of the same Congregation':—

'Let Egypt's plagues be mentioned no more,
One Presbyter's more mischief than a score;
If Puritans instead of Frogs had fell,
Pharaoh at first had let go Israel.'

A third was 'Anti-Boreale an Answer to That Seditious and Lewd piece of Poetry upon Master Calamy's late Confinement, Supposedly His who wrote Iter Boreale':—

'What he? whose early loyal Muse awoke
When the late Rebel Snaky-bed was broke?
He, who first met and welcom'd in the King,
Does he now offer thus to hiss and sting
That Breast that warm'd him?'

³⁵ C.S.P.D., 1663-4, pp. 10, 31, 50: Adam Martindale, p. 174. See Besse, i, pp. 234-5. Cf. Rees, pp. 156-8, 'Public Intelligencer,' March 22, 1663.

³⁶ C.S.P.D., 1663-4, p. 337. 'Mr. Woodbridge's reasons and excuses for himself for not coming to church more than once on a Sunday.' . . . If recusants, by going to church once a month, escape the fine of £20 per month, he ought to be eased of one of 12d. by going on a Sunday night

³⁷ 'Extracts from a Lancashire diary,' p 17.

³⁸ C.S.P.D., 1663-4, p. 560. Cf. P. Henry, p. 191-2.

³⁹ C.S.P.D., 1666-7, Preface, xiv-xviii.

been the cruelty inflicted upon me (and others of my friends here) by being thronged up in stinking rooms, and sometimes in one room above 20 of us, where we could not all lie down at once, and no straw allowed us to lie upon, except we pay 2s. 6d. for one bolting, which was sold to felons for 2d., and no manner of victuals allowed to be brought to us, except we pay 6d. for one penny loaf of bread, and as much for a quart of milk, and 3d. for a quart of water, &c., which unreasonable rates we were not willing to pay; and our friends and relations were not only kept from us, but what they brought to minister to our necessities was taken from them and given to other prisoners, and this was continued for four or five days together at one time, insomuch that moderate people in the town (though not of our judgment) hearing of this cruelty inflicted upon us, were stirred up in tenderness to throw bread over a house-top into the dungeon-court for our present relief, to the frustration of the expectations of our cruel oppressors. Our bed-clothes also, and other goods and accessories, were taken away from us and locked up by the gaoler, and me and others he struck with his staff and naked fauchion, and several times hath chained me with fetters to another man, and locked me to a post, and many more inhuman and seldom heard of cruelties and incivilities hath he inflicted upon me and others of my friends (and all this for serving the Lord and of keeping Christ's commands). The favourite recreations, if they may be so called, of prisoners were apparently praying and preaching.⁴⁰

The cause of Nonconformists generally was not forwarded by the plots or rumours of plots which were rife in the Autumn of 1663.⁴¹ It was reported that in Lancashire and Cheshire alone, 5,000 were ready to rise. The Farnley Wood Plot, in the reality of which so many officials refused to believe, resulted in the execution of some twenty suspects in January, 1664.⁴² Their object was, according to one who was implicated, to force the king to perform promises made at Breda, to grant liberty of conscience to all but Roman Catholics, to take away excise, chimney-money and all taxes

⁴⁰ A government rhymster complains that the Nonconformist 'Commits himself to prison to Trepan, Draw in and spirit all he can; For birds in cages have a call To draw the wildest into nets, More prevalent and natural Than all our artificial pipes and counterfeits.' ('Pindaric Ode on a Hypocritical Nonconformist,' quoted in Sandford's 'Allein,' p. 220.)

⁴¹ Cf. H.M.C.R., xiv, App. ii, p. 269, 270. H.M.C.R., Ormonde MSS., ii, p. 251. 'Intelligencer,' Sept. 14, 1663. C.S.P.D., 1663-4, *passim*. C.S.P.D., 1665-6, p. 281, &c.

⁴² C.S.P.D., 1663-4, p. 512. C.S.P.D., 1663-4, pp. 216, 293. C.S.P.D., 1663-4, p. 443.

whatsoever, and to restore a 'Gospel' magistracy and ministry.⁴³ If there ever was any real danger, it was on account of the many disbanded officers and soldiers to be found in the north. At the time, the plot was supposed to have been planned and engineered at conventicles held ostensibly for the purpose of worship—meetings where 'poison was distilled into the hearts of the simple and weak,' although it is significant that for the future a strict eye was to be kept on all that had 'served as soldiers or officers against the king, under the command of the late parliament, or Oliver and his son.'⁴⁴

However groundless the rumours of projected revolts may have been, the sense of danger was sufficiently real to many. Added to this, there appeared about this time many ill-timed pamphlets—'those silent traitors that affront majesty, and abuse all authority under the colour of an imprimatur.'⁴⁵ Consequently, when parliament met on March 21st, 1664, the members were determined to adopt severe measures against Nonconformists. A bill was introduced forbidding the meeting of more than four persons, over and above the members of the household, for purposes of divine worship. The Lords offered amendments: they demanded that the houses of peers should be liable to search only by the Lord Lieutenant of the county; that members of the Upper House should be tried only by their peers; and that the standard should be not the Liturgy of the Church of England, but 'the Liturgy or practice.' On the last point the Commons gave way: on the others compromise was effected. With these amendments⁴⁶ the bill to prevent and suppress 'seditious' conventicles, 'the seed-plots and nurseries of the opinions of fanatics,' became law, May 17th, 1664.⁴⁷

The Act of Uniformity had affected ministers only; by

⁴³ C.S.P.D., 1663-4, p. 352.

⁴⁴ C.S.P.D., 1665-6, p. 548. Cosin Corres., ii, 108.

⁴⁵ E.g. 'Mene Tekel; or, The Downfall of Tyranny. A Treatise, wherein Liberty and Equity are Vindicated, and Tyranny Condemned, by the Law of God and Right Reason: And the Peoples Power, and Duty, to execute Justice, without, and upon Wicked Governors, Asserted.' The printer was ordered to be hanged, drawn, and quartered (Tanner MSS., XLVII, p. 70). 'Prelatiue Preachers None of Christ's Teachers. Or, A Dissuasive unto the people of God from attending the Ministry (so called) of those, who Preach by vertue of an (Apocryphal) Ordination, received from an Order of men, commonly stiled, Lord Bishops.' 'Evangelium Armatum. A Specimen; or Short Collection of several Doctrines and Positions destructive to our Government both Civil and Ecclesiastical. Preached and Vented By the known Leaders and Abettors of the pretended Reformation.'

⁴⁶ For text see 'Documents,' p. 477.

⁴⁷ Chandler's Debates, i, p. 78. 'The Dutch have printed the heads of the Act against private meetings, styling it an Act for suppressing the worship of God.' (H.M.C.R., Montague of Beaulieu MSS., p. 166.)

this latest measure, the whole body of Nonconformists suffered. Writing in 1668, Clarendon remarks that this act was regarded as 'the greatest discountenance the parliament had yet given to all the factions in religion, and if it had been vigorously executed it would no doubt have produced a thorough reformation.'⁴⁸ The observation is by no means sound, but there can be no two opinions as to the severity of the measure. At any time the houses of Nonconformists were liable to be forcibly entered, and on the oath of a despicable informer those found within might incur heavy fines, and for a third offence seven years' imprisonment. Bitterly did Nonconformists inveigh against the act and its promoters. It was, wrote Owen, contrary to the original pattern of all government, for even Adam was given an opportunity of defence before sentence was pronounced. 'Hast thou eaten of the tree?' It was against the light of nature, and convictions made on the oath of informers led to the multiplication of perjury, to the dishonour of God, and a great increase of sin in the land.⁴⁹

Owen was not exaggerating when he dwelt upon the increase of perjury. There were not wanting informers ready, on the questionable evidence of the sound of a voice, to swear away men's property and liberty.⁵⁰

Between July 24th, 1664, and December 31st, 1665, there were in the metropolis 909 convictions against conventiclers, 548 males and 261 females.⁵¹ The maximum penalty of £5 for the first offence was very rarely imposed, the usual fines ranging from 5s. to 1s. The maximum penalty of £10 for the second offence was never imposed, the highest fine being £5. Unfortunately, one cannot infer from this that the severity of the persecution has hitherto been over-estimated. Considerable light is thrown on the question by a letter of Sir Roger Bradshaigh, of Haigh, Lancashire, to Williamson. 'At the sessions,' he writes,⁵² 'two were convicted for the second time, one for the first time, of conventicles; but the stubborn Anabaptists refusing to pay the 10s. fine, are sent to gaol for only two months. I think the third offence will

⁴⁸ 'Continuation,' § 511.

⁴⁹ 'The Case of Present Distresses on Nonconformists examined.'

⁵⁰ Among the Kenyon MSS. is a draft form: 'A. B. informeth . . . that there was a conventicle held in the house of one B. C. in Manchester, where the informant heard one preaching . . . and judgeth by his voice it was one T. . . .' (H.M.C.R., Kenyon MSS., p. 91.)

⁵¹ Middlesex Records, iii, pp. 342-8. The records throw light on the social standing of Nonconformists. Of 479 different males convicted, only 20 could be styled gentlemen, while of 303 females only 9 were of gentle birth.

⁵² C.S.P.D., 1664-5, pp. 484-5.

quit the place of them, and many more by the same trap.' The mercy was more apparent than real, the object being to secure as speedily as possible a third conviction and consequent transportation. To achieve their purpose, informers with armed forces broke into the barns and out-houses converted into temporary chapels. From Prees Green, where, one Sabbath, they were gaming and drinking, the justices of the peace hurried off, at the instance of an informer, to arrest the devout Philip Henry and his faithful few. Men even feared to say grace at table where more than four strangers were assembled, lest this might be construed into an act of religious worship. Mr. Duke, a 'busy fanatic' near Exeter, invited the judges of assize to spend the evening at his house. While they were there 'he himself got behind a table . . . read a chapter and then a long-winded prayer, after the Presbyterian way.'⁵³ The attendance of the judges at a conventicle, and the determination of the grand jury to present them for it, formed the gossip of Exeter the next morning. Had the judges been ordinary mortals, they would have had to pay the penalty. Fines would have been imposed; if they had not been paid, household goods, farm implements or cattle would have been distrained and sold far below their actual value. Thus, George Pye, of Lydiate, for a demand of £3 lost six cows worth £20.⁵⁴ Well might a learned writer remark that 'in those days it was safer to be a felon than a nonconformist.' But if the heads of the government, in their bigotry and blindness, thought that nonconformity could be destroyed by this relentless harrying and persecution of what they were pleased to style 'that old serpent Presbyter and his amphibious spawn,' they were no judges of human nature. Persecution never did and never will avail to crush a free race. It may, and probably will, subdue the craven-hearted, but of these a cause is well rid. On those acting from deep-rooted conviction, the effect is to produce and develop a spirit of determination and constancy exhibited in its highest form by the Scotch Covenanters of this period, and only less in a degree by their brethren in England. Despite the heavy penalties to which they were liable, Nonconformists still held their conventicles, Quakers quite openly, other dissenters in secluded spots.⁵⁵

⁵³ 'Lives of the Norths,' i, p. 151

⁵⁴ Besse i, p. 315.

⁵⁵ For the purpose of encouraging Nonconformists, innumerable pamphlets were issued. See e.g. 'Antipharmacum Saluberrimum'; 'The Sufferers-Catechism'; 'A Loving Salutation'; 'Unto all that wait in Sion'; 'A Call to Archippus'; &c.

Thus matters stood when, in March, 1665, England entered upon a war against Holland. Now, if at any time, the Commons might have been expected to see the advisability of granting some measure of toleration in order to secure a united front against a powerful foe. Unfortunately, many of the sterner Nonconformists were more than suspected of sympathy with the Dutch, and of hopes that Holland would give them help in altering the form of government either to a Republic or to a Protectorate.⁵⁶ These hopes were fostered too by those English refugees living in Holland who still kept up communication with their party at home. Consequently, the war led not to amelioration, but to the adoption of precautionary measures to check the spirit of disaffection which was widely diffused, especially in the West of England.

As if to augment the horrors ever inseparable from war, a terrible plague, the scourge of the Middle Ages, swept with fury over England. The vile hovels and narrow streets of London rendered the city specially vulnerable to its attacks. Very many of the conforming ministers fled from their parishes, leaving their people to perish without a word of comfort. To the credit of Sheldon, at this time Archbishop, and of Henchman, Bishop of London, be it related, that though most of their officers deserted them, they remained.⁵⁷ Indeed, it is said that Henchman wrote to those clergy that had deserted their posts, ordering them to return on pain of forfeiting their livings.⁵⁸ It was at this crisis that 'divers Nonconformists pitying the dying and distressed People, that had none to call the impenitent to Repentance, nor to help them to prepare for another World, resolved that no obedience to the Laws of any mortal Men whatsoever could justify them for neglecting of Men's Souls and Bodies in such extremities.'⁵⁹ Since Henchman refused their help, they took the law into their own hands, and issued from their private meetings to preach in the deserted pulpits, and to minister, as far as they were able, to the sick and to the dying.⁶⁰ An anonymous writer remarks: ⁶¹ 'if the King heard their earnest prayers for God's mercy and favour, and their deep contrition for their own sins and those of the land, he would not think them unworthy of the present indulgence which he declares

⁵⁶ C.S.P.D., 1665-6, Preface, XXV.

⁵⁷ C.S.P.D., 1664-5, p. 524. See 'A Friendly Letter to the Flying Clergy, wherein Is humbly Requested and modestly Challenged the Cause of their Flight.' By J. W. Preest.

⁵⁸ Ellis, 'Original Letters,' 2nd Series, iv, p. 26.

⁵⁹ Baxter, iii, p. 2.

⁶⁰ C.S.P.D., 1664-5, p. 524.

⁶¹ C.S.P.D., 1664-5, pp. 486-7.

for.' But even common calamity was not sufficient to stay the fury of persecutors. While the plague was at its height, informers were busily plying their nefarious trade.⁶² Sheldon, too, was issuing instructions to the bishops, requesting the returns of details concerning the conventicles held in the various dioceses, and the attitude adopted towards Church and State by all ejected ministers, schoolmasters and others.⁶³

In October, parliament assembled at Oxford instead of London, to escape the pestilence which was still raging. Clarendon opened with a direct invitation to the Houses to increase the persecution. Referring to the war with the Dutch, and the so-called plots at home, particularly to one discovered in April of this year, he suggested that 'if you carefully provide for suppressing your enemies at home, you will find your enemies abroad more inclined to peace.' Not slow to follow his lead, parliament passed the most cruel of the persecuting laws that mark the Restoration settlement of the Church. Entitled 'An Act to restrain Nonconformists from inhabiting corporations,' it became known as 'The Five-Mile Act.' All Nonconformist ministers were required to take the 'Oxford Oath,' which ran: 'I do swear that it is not lawful upon any pretence whatsoever to take arms against the king; and that I do abhor that traitorous position of taking arms by his authority, against his person, or against those that are commissioned by him, in pursuance of such commissions; and that I will not at any time endeavour any alteration of government either in church or state.'⁶⁴ All who declined to take the oath were forbidden to come within five miles of any city or corporate town, or borough returning burgesses to parliament, or in which they had preached since the Act of Oblivion, and they were further forbidden to teach in schools. A significant feature of the act was the grant to informers of a third of the fines imposed.

The chief promoters of the measure were, in all probability, Sheldon and Clarendon. Many peers, including Southampton, opposed it on the ground that no honest man

⁶² *Politico-Eccles. Histy. MSS.*, pp. 153-4.

⁶³ *Lansdowne MSS.*, 975, pp. 179-181. Sheldon asked for returns:—(1) Concerning lectures and lecturers. Where held? Are they by consent of the bishop of the diocese? Are the preachers lawfully licensed? (2) Ditto, concerning schoolmasters, mistresses, ushers, &c. Are they conformable? Are they well affected towards the government? (3) Ditto, concerning 'practisors of Physick.' (4) Names and degrees of all ejected Nonconformist ministers. What profession have they adopted? Do they keep the peace as regards Church and State? It has been suggested that Sheldon's queries were issued in anticipation of the Five Mile Act in order to render it effectual at once.

⁶⁴ For full text of Act see 'Documents,' p. 488.

could take the oath.⁶⁵ Some proposed to insert the word 'unlawfully' before 'endeavour to change the government,' but owing to the unbending attitude of the bishops, all amendments were rejected. The spirit which prompted the act is clearly shown in the speech delivered by the Speaker when he presented the bill to the king. 'Tacitus,' he remarked, 'has a saying "Such as are false in their love are true in their hate." And this rule we find verified in our nonconformists. Whilst they were in the bosom of the Church of England, they were like inward vapours and inward bleedings, always oppressing and strangling the body of the church; and now they are ejected and excluded from their ministerial functions, they have more malice and no less opportunity to propagate their principles than they had before. Some of them are objects of pity: they submitted their reason to their leaders of a higher class, who failed them in their hopes, and left them to the rigour of the law. These poor creatures have seen their error, and feel the smart, and would live peaceably; but their Jesuitical leaders keep up their spirits and herd them in cities and corporate towns, where, by pretence of persecution and self-denial, they move the pity of good-natured people, and with their charity keep up their party, lessen the maintenance of conforming ministers, and spread their contagion amongst the youth of the nation.'⁶⁶ It was a bold attempt to deal a fatal blow at nonconformity by dispersing its exponents from their strongholds—the corporate towns and boroughs.

By the series of acts commencing in 1661 and ending in 1665, nonconformity, hitherto unrecognised by law, became a political and constitutional fact. The Puritans had existed within the national church; hence the talk, before 1662, of comprehension. This series of acts declared comprehension to be quite impossible, and gave at last to Protestant dissenters a position legally defined, with penalties attached.

The imposition of the 'Oxford Oath' was particularly irksome to dissenters. Many were quite prepared to bind themselves to refrain from attempting any alteration in the State, but for Church policy, they, as Wilde here puts it, 'doubted it.' The rhymster protests:—

I am no Quaker, not at all to swear;
Nor Papist, to swear east, and mean the west;
But am a Protestant, and will declare
What I can not, and what I can protest.

⁶⁵ Burnet, i, 329. 'Letter from Person of Quality.' (Baxter, iii, 3.)

⁶⁶ L. J., xi, p. 700.

I never will endeavour alteration
 Of monarchy, nor of that royal name
 Which God hath chosen to command this nation,
 But will maintain his person, crown, and fame.

I'll pray that all his subjects may agree,
 And never more be crumbled into parts ;
 I will endeavour that his Majesty
 May not be King of Clubs, but King of Hearts.

That Peter was a prelate they aver,
 But I'll not swear it when all's said and done ;
 But I dare swear, and hope I shall not err,
 He preached a hundred sermons to their one.
 Peter a fisher was, and he caught men,
 And they have nets, and in them catch men too ;
 Yet I'll not swear they are alike, for them
 He caught, he saved—these catch, and then undo.

I will not swear that they who this oath take
 Will for religion e'er lay down their lives ;
 But I will swear they will good jugglers make,
 Who can already swallow down such knives.
 For holy vestments I'll not take an oath,
 Which linen most canonical may be ;
 Some are for lawn, some holland, some Scot's-cloth,
 And hemp, for some, is fitter than all three.

In fine, the civil power I will obey,
 And seek the peace and welfare of the nation :
 If this won't do, I know not what to say,
 But farewell London, farewell corporation.⁶⁷

Nevertheless, irksome as it was, some ministers, including Dr. Bates and Dr. Jacomb, took the oath with certain reservations.⁶⁸ Those who refused had to prepare to leave

⁶⁷ 'The Loyal Nonconformist; or, an account of what he dare swear and what he dare not swear.' By R. Wild. See also the attack on this ballad, 'The Scotch Riddle Unfolded; or, Reflections upon R. W.,' beginning:—

'Stand up Smectymnuus and bear thy trial;
 Thy monstrous Title puts me to a pause:
 Was ever any Non-Conformist Loyal?
 Loves he the King who disobeys the Laws?'

⁶⁸ Baxter, iii, p. 33.

the districts in which they had laboured. 'O the teares that have been shed for breaking families;⁶⁹ and separating husbands, wives, parents and children, pastors, and people! the Lord look upon it and requite it.' Dr. Owen was so harried from place to place that he seriously considered the advisability of leaving England. Receiving an invitation to take the Presidency of Harvard College, he was making preparations to sail, when he was stopped by order of the king.⁷⁰ It became a question for the casuist whether a Nonconformist could break the law by residing in a corporate town, and still remain a good Christian.⁷¹ Many actually did so, but paid the penalty of their temerity.⁷² Lancashire ministers, however, were peculiarly fortunate: Manchester, the great stronghold of Nonconformity in that county, being neither a city nor a corporate town, and not returning members to parliament, came not within the provisions of the act.⁷³

The Church, by this heavy blow at Puritanism, gained neither in numbers nor in reputation. During the next two years at least, complaints flowed in from every quarter that the number of 'fanatics' showed no tendency to decline. Some did indeed attend divine service, but, so the orthodox declared, absented themselves during the reading of the Common Prayer. Still the persecution went on: Chester, Yarmouth, Bristol and Norwich distinguished themselves in securing convictions, to accomplish which no methods were considered too mean or too contemptible. Spies were engaged even from the numbers of the dissenters, who were thus driven to adopt all manner of devices for the sake of security. Sentinels were placed to give warning of the approach of informers: John Jollie preached from a stair which led into a sitting room by a door, the top half of which moved on hinges, so that it could be shut at a moment's notice.⁷⁴ In Leominster worshippers met provided with bread and cheese, so that, if necessary, their meeting for devotion might be converted into a convivial gathering.⁷⁵

With the next year came a change. Persecution declined

⁶⁹ O. Heywood's *Diaries*, i, p. 201.

⁷⁰ Wilson, i, 271.

⁷¹ See 'A Case of Conscience, Whether a Nonconformist, who hath not taken the Oxford Oath, may come to live at London . . . In reference to what is offered to the contrary, in . . . A Friendly Debate betwixt a Conformist and a Nonconformist.'

⁷² M'sex Records, iv, p. 15.

⁷³ John Reilly's 'Manchester,' i, p. 214.

⁷⁴ Slate, 'Nonconft. Remains,' p. 211.

⁷⁵ Cf. Wilson, iii, 327. Thompson MSS., iv, 322. Ambrose Barnes, preface, p. vi. Cong. Hist. Soc. Trans., i, 40. Fox's *Journal*, 1667.

appreciably, perhaps increasing again a little as a result of the terror and suspicion connected with the Fire. Many justices were daily becoming less willing to enforce the laws. It may be that they were beginning to see the futility of persecution. More probably they felt with Sir Nathaniel Hern that 'they could not trade with their neighbours one day, and send them to gaol the next.' It was noticed, too, with growing suspicion, that Roman Catholics were rarely prosecuted.⁷⁶ The odours of a licentious court were an offence to the nostrils of the pure-minded of all persuasions. 'The people are in a desperate condition,' remarks one writer; 'house-keepers so oppressed with taxes that they dare not open their doors, or the tax gatherer will carry away a bed or a dish; the people curse the King, wish for Cromwell, and say "Come Dutch come devil;" they cannot be worse, so that where one would fight for His Majesty, ten would fight against him; there are not ten amongst the gentry whom they would follow The nation says the King cares about his pleasures and thinks not of the sighs and groans of his poor subjects; they will not long be subjects; their patience has been on tenterhooks People say "Give the King the Countess of Castlemaine, and he cares not what the nation suffers."⁷⁷

The nation had worse to suffer. During the night of September 1st, 1666, the great fire broke out in Pudding Lane.⁷⁸ Regarded by fanatics as another example of God's heavy wrath and indignation against a godless city, it was in reality a blessing in disguise, sweeping away those germs of disease which still clung to the city. Such a mode of cleansing brought in its train much privation and no little pecuniary loss. Nonconformists, Papists, and foreigners, all fell under suspicion. Few were sensible enough to see that the fire was a mere accident. 'Desparate daggers, fit for massacres,' were produced as evidence that there had been a deep design to destroy London and murder its inhabitants. In a panic of fear, the House of Commons desired the king to command the execution of all laws against Roman Catholic priests, and to disarm all Papists.⁷⁹ Hardly had the city recovered, when, in June, 1667, it was threatened with invasion and pillage. The Dutch fleet, to avenge the indignity inflicted upon them in the previous year, sailed up the

⁷⁶ Western MSS., 28,181, p. 68.

⁷⁷ Addressed to the King by one who 'is but a poor woman, and can only pray for His Majesty.' C.S.P.D., 1665-6, p. 477.

⁷⁸ Pepys, Sept. 2.

⁷⁹ H.M.C.R., xiv, ii, 302.

Medway, burnt the shipping at Chatham, and for some days terrorised London.

These events were not without some influence on the religious situation. Since the majority of the city churches had perished in the fire, many of the meeting-houses possessed by Nonconformists were seized by Episcopalians for their own use.⁸⁰ Nevertheless, conventicles were held openly and apparently without restraint.⁸¹ The fears and rumours of revolt which had been rife during the fire and the Dutch incursion, had further convinced thinking men that internal disaffection must be removed. Preaching before the House of Lords in November, 1666, Bishop Reynolds had ventured to assert that 'truly it is an Honour which Learned Men owe to one another, to allow Liberty of Dissent in Matters of meer Opinion, *salva compage Fidei, salvo vinculo Charitatis, salva Pace Ecclesiae . . .* : so it is a Charity which good Men owe to one another upon the same Salvo's, to bear with the Infirmities of each other, not to judge, or despise, or set at naught our Brethren.'⁸² In June and July it was confidently whispered abroad that at last liberty was to be granted, though Baxter, with his usual caution, suspected it as a mere design 'to keep people in hopes.' 'It has been debated,' says one correspondent, 'to grant liberty of conscience and lay aside B(ishops?).'⁸³ James Thruston writes to Viscount Conway on June 29th: 'Something of moderation in the Church government is thought will be ordered before this session; if not, there will be a compliance to what the Parliament may insist upon in that concern,'⁸⁴ and to Yarmouth the news spread that parliament would prepare a bill granting freedom of worship.⁸⁵ But the bishops still stirred up those civil authorities that appeared to slacken in their duties. The Bishop of Chester rejoiced that 1,500 Nonconformists had been presented at the assize at Lancaster, asking Sheldon for advice how to proceed effectually against others, whether he should seek the interposal of a higher authority or complain to the Privy Council.⁸⁶

⁸⁰ Wilson names the meeting-houses in Fetter Lane, Salisbury Court, Mile's Lane, New Broad Street, Meeting-House Court, Blackfriars, Hand-Alley, and Jewin Street. Most of them were returned when the churches were re-erected.

⁸¹ Baxter, iii, 19.

⁸² Conf. Plea, pp. 15, 16.

⁸³ Baxter, iii, 19. C.S.P.D., 1667, p. 199.

⁸⁴ C.S.P.D., 1667, Preface, xxxvi.

⁸⁵ C.S.P.D., 1667, p. 336.

⁸⁶ Western MSS., 28, 181, p. 58.

When parliament met in July, 1667, Charles urged the members to use all industry and severity, for both were necessary, to reduce the people to a better temper than had prevailed of late:⁸⁷ but the Commons had other work on hand. Again an attempt was made to remove the Chancellor, this time with success. On August 30th the great seal was taken from him. To escape punishment, he was advised by Charles to flee. The remaining years of his life he spent on the continent, engaged in writing scathing character sketches of his chief enemies, a vindication of himself, his great history of the civil struggles and minor treatises. His fall was inevitable. At the Restoration, failing to grasp the fact that during his exile England had made no little progress in political thought, he had expected and endeavoured to maintain the administrative system of Charles I. Like Wolsey, he had failed to get in sympathetic touch with the rising generation of courtiers. His austere morality and his consistent opposition to all schemes of toleration lost him the support of Charles. To the Commons he had rendered himself obnoxious by his exalted view of prerogative and by his frequent attempts to over-ride the privileges of the House. The strain of a great war, which from the first he had discountenanced, brought to light all the defects of his administration. The ill-success of the war was laid at his door. Nay, every evil, real and imaginary, was attributed to him—‘Dunkirk, Tangiers and a barren Queen.’ Among the few who offered him sympathy were the Presbyterians for whom, in his hour of triumph, he had shown so little pity.

⁸⁷ L. J., xii, p. 133.

CHAPTER IV

FROM THE FALL OF CLARENDRON TO THE DECLARATION
OF INDULGENCE

ON the fall of Clarendon, Charles entrusted the management of affairs to a junto popularly known as the 'Cabal.' A cabinet, it yet had nothing in common with modern cabinets. North describes it¹ as 'a double-visaged ministry, half-papist and half fanatic, who co-operated in mischief, the former to favour their party, the other to ruin the king. Clifford and Arlington of the former, and Bucks and Shaftesbury of the latter party. And the game lay by soothing up the king and pushing him on in designs of advancing his prerogative.' Its leading member for a time was Buckingham, a typical Restoration cavalier; a man after the king's own heart. As 'Zimri,' his character is admirably sketched by Dryden in his 'Absalom and Achitophel':—

'A man so various that he seemed to be
Not one, but all mankind's epitome;
Stiff in opinions, always in the wrong;
Was everything by starts, and nothing long.'

Of no religion, a so-called 'deist,' he was perhaps genuinely desirous of seeing religious toleration granted to Protestant dissenters. There is reason to believe that as early as 1665 he had been in communication with that party, offering them relief from penal laws in return for their support. Ashley, who had shown considerable ease in changing his political convictions, presents a curious figure. It became customary after 1675 for supporters of the crown to paint him in the blackest of colours. Thus North wrote² that 'the noble Earl, like Ulysses of old, kept out of Harm's Way, but kept in perpetual Disguise: Whether for the Common-wealth Model, some Usurpation, Love of change (as many, though, I think, without Reason, accused him) or for Experiment, by shuffling the Cards, to try for a new Game to manage, and make himself sport with, may entertain the Curious with Conjecture, but without clear Grounds whereupon to determine any Thing.' This much at all events is clear, he was a sceptic, ready to enter upon schemes for toleration, but

¹ Lives of Norths, i, p. 114.

² Examen, p. 41.

would exclude Roman Catholics and extreme fanatics. Clifford sincerely professed Roman Catholicism, to which Arlington also leaned. Lauderdale, a royalist since 1648, was devoted to no form of religion ; the only thing he worshipped was the bottle. Not one of this motley assembly represented the ecclesiastical policy of Clarendon : it was obviously another political move by Charles towards obtaining toleration for Roman Catholics, and with it indulgence for Protestant Nonconformists. Of the other influential members of the king's council, Albemarle and Robartes were Presbyterians ; the new Lord-Keeper, Bridgeman, was a moderate Episcopalian ; while the Duke of York was a Roman Catholic in sympathy, though not yet openly declared.

Nonconformists were especially pleased at the advent to power of Buckingham and Bridgeman. These latter are charged with having made an early bid at popularity by releasing out of prison many Republicans and some old officers of Cromwell's army, including Major Wildman, Major Creed and Captain Salmond.³ Conventicles were connived at ; vast numbers flocked to the meetings, held now not in secret but quite openly. The justices of the peace for Canterbury bitterly resented the 'insolencies' and boldness of the conventiclers.⁴ 'We did by Our Selves,' they write, 'without any number of Souldiers go to the place of meeting, and there we found one Robert Beake amongst 1,000 people or thereabouts preaching and exercising under pretence of Religion in other Manner then is allowed, and when we desired them to depart and dissipate they obstinately refused and bid their preacher stand fast and go on, and the preacher said he would not stir although comanded.' The king in October recommended parliament to give healing and moderate counsels,⁵ and at the end of the month the Conventicle Act of 1664 expired. Small wonder that Nonconformists began to hold up their heads and to boast to their enemies of a time that was shortly coming when, not only would they be tolerated, but the bishops themselves would have to struggle for existence.⁶ Ludlow in Switzerland received the reports of intended indulgence with scepticism : 'if this should be, as before, designed by Bristol and others in order to have popery get in his tail, and so to slip in the whole body, the Lord will blast it as he did before.'⁷ His

³ Clarke's Jas. II, p. 435.

⁴ Tanner MSS., 45, p. 243.

⁵ L. J., xii, p. 115.

⁶ C.S.P.D., 1667, pp. 437, 457, 484. Pepys, Dec. 21, 1667. Tanner MSS., 45, p. 202.

⁷ Ludlow's Memoirs, Ed. Firth, ii, p. 494.

scepticism was warranted: the rumours of indulgence and comprehension were false, despite the fact that Newcome professes to have seen a copy of a bill to secure comprehension. Not only was comprehension impossible owing to the attitude of the various sects, it was also directly opposed to the policy of Charles. Nevertheless, toleration was urged in certain quarters. An anonymous correspondent urges the Duke of Albemarle, as 'the man that the better part of his Majesty's subjects do depend upon to redress the many evils daily encreasing in the church of Christ,' to promote toleration.⁸ Its merits were discussed in pamphlets and books. 'How momentous in the Ballance of the Nation, those Protestants are, that dissent from the present Ecclesiastical Polity! . . . The settling of the nation may be made up of an Establishment, a Limited Toleration, and a Discreet Conivance This comprehensive state of religion is to the interest of King, clergy, nobility and gentry.'⁹ Sheldon took care that its demerits also should be pointed out.¹⁰

Despite the fact that Clarendon had fallen, that even before his fall the penal laws, as far as magistrates were concerned, had become almost dead letters, and although the Conventicle Act had expired, persecution was not entirely stopped. Sheldon was still Archbishop: from Lambeth poured out letters urging the bishops and clergy to give dissenters no rest. Sheldon had no wish to see them even tolerated, much less comprehended. In private he ridiculed them. To a select company at Lambeth Palace he gave an 'infinitely pleasing' entertainment, at which the gossip Pepys was present.¹¹ 'Most of the company gone,' writes the diarist, 'and I going, I heard by a gentleman of a sermon

⁸ Tanner MSS., 45, p. 272. 'Millions of people whome they call Presbyterians, Puritans, hippocrites, and factious men will then prove themselves to be very honest men, and his Majesties best subjects. It is well knownen they are not people of the meanest quality.'

⁹ 'A Discourse of the Religion of England.' See also 'The Judgment of Mr. Baxter concerning Ceremonies and Conformity, with a Short Reflection upon a Scandalous Pamphlet, &c.' 'Bentivolyo.' 'A Proposition for the Safety and Happiness of the King and Kingdom, &c.' 'The Inconveniences of Toleration, &c.'

¹⁰ Cosin writes to Sheldon: 'Nothing can be more properly set forth, or prove more prevalent against the effort now lately made by the proposers and movers for Indulgence to those Men that dissent from the Act of Uniformity, than the solemn Addresses of the House of Commons to the King, together with the weightie and answerable reasons . . . I am apt to believe that if this Address and these Reasons carrying the Name and Authority of the honorable House of Comons were speedily annexed as an Appendix to these Books, which your Grace hath lately caused to be so well, and so timely set out . . . it would be pretium opera and produce that Good effect. . . .' (Western MSS., 28,181, p. 77.)

¹¹ Pepys, 14 May, 1669.

that was to be there; and so I staid to hear it, thinking it serious, till by and by the gentleman told men it was a mockery, by one Cornet Bolton, a very gentleman-like man, that behind a chair did pray and preach like a Presbyter Scot, with all possible imitation in grimaces and voice. And his text about the hanging up their harps upon the willows: and a serious good sermon too, exclaiming against bishops, and crying up of my good Lord Eglington till it made us all burst.' This from one who in 1660 had preached before Charles: 'That is the best and most Christian memory, that, as Cæsar's, forgets nothing but injuries. Let us all seriously and sadly look back, consider and bemoan one another for what we have mutually done and suffered from each other.'¹² From such a man Nonconformists would look in vain for consideration and sympathy. Seeing that from him most bishops took the lead, it is not surprising that in a little more than two years 1,400 cases of nonconformity came before the Archdeacon of Lincoln's court.

Bridgeman quickly endeavoured to justify the good opinion which Nonconformists held of his moderation. In January, 1668, Sir John Barber informed Dr. Manton and Baxter¹³ that Bridgeman wished to consult them concerning comprehension for Presbyterians and toleration for Independents and the rest, but warned them that if they wanted to succeed, they must make use of those who would indulge Papists also. The aim of the government was probably to feel the pulse of the Presbyterian leaders, to see whether they could be brought to accept a toleration extended to Roman Catholics, or whether they would remain as they were rather than accept freedom of worship on such conditions. Bridgeman received them, and a few days later nominated his own chaplain, Dr. Wilkins,¹⁴ afterwards Bishop of Chester, to treat with Baxter, Bates and Manton concerning terms. The old question of re-ordination proved once more a stumbling-block,

¹² 'Church and State,' p. 109.

¹³ Baxter, iii, p. 23.

¹⁴ The following letters are interesting as regards the estimation in which Wilkins was held. 'I was yesterday startled with a report that by the prevalence of the Duke of Buckingham with his Majesty, Dr. Wilkins was nominated to the See of Chester which if true doth prognostick to the Church but ill, and that our great Pastor and Patron (Sheldon) is not in so great favour and power as all good men wish him.' (Robert Pory to Mr. Deane, Tanner MSS. 44, p. 37.) 'The Lord John Berkly . . . fell into the praise of Chester, that he was a verie Rational man: I replied, after my wonted boldness, that I took him to be a shallow man both in philosophie and divinitie: I mervaile what he with his comprehension bills will say to the nameless good man, that hath printed . . . "Toleration disapproved." (Bp. of Lich. and Cowen to Sheldon, Tanner MSS., 44, p. 196.)

but the Presbyterians received a promise that Sir Matthew Hale should draw up a bill to be presented to parliament. The draft bill for comprehension and indulgence drawn up by Hale,¹⁵ merely required the laying-on of hands by the bishops instead of re-ordination, and subscription to the 'doctrine, worship and government established in the Church of England as concerning all things necessary to salvation.' 'But alas!' writes Baxter, 'all this labour was in vain.'

Until parliament re-assembled, Nonconformists enjoyed comparative freedom from restraint, and it was considered probable that parliament would deal kindly with them.¹⁶ In preparation for the session it would seem that both parties had been soliciting the support of members.¹⁷ On the opening day, February 10th, 1668, before the king arrived. 'the House of Commons met,¹⁸ and, upon information given them of a Bill intended to be brought in, as common report said, for Comprehension, they did mightily inveigh against it; . . . and it was moved in the House that if any people had a mind to bring any new laws into the House about religion, they might come as a proposer of new laws did in Athens, with ropes about their necks.' Here was a check, sufficiently alarming, for enthusiastic moderators. But this was not all. Again the king recommended moderate measures:¹⁹ 'And for the settling a firm peace as well at home as abroad, one thing more I hold myself obliged to recommend to you at this present: which is, that you would seriously think of some course to beget a better union and composure in the minds of my Protestant subjects in matters of religion; whereby they may be induced not only to submit quietly to the government, but also cheerfully give their assistance to the support of it.' No mention of the proposed

¹⁵ Lansdowne MSS., 1,023, p. 467.

¹⁶ C.S.P.D., 1667-8, pp. 165, 176, 209, 220, 250. Pepys, Jan. 23, 26, 28; Feb. 5.

¹⁷ See Bp. of Lichfield & C. to Sheldon: 'My Lord, next to the holie providence of God, I discern your Graces great prudence, and indefatigable industrie, to prepare the votes of the Commons against they met for so noble and happie a concurrence, to discourage nonconformists and Sectaries, who did openly boast what assurance they had in the undertakings of a great Duke, to procure them of most factious toleration. And their partie laboured much with manie members of this Countie, and have gained Mr. Dyot, our new Burgess unto them: for they wholly possess him and converse with him.' (Tanner MSS., 45, p. 278.) And again, the same to the same: 'The finger of God is immediately in it, that by your Grace's dexteritie the house of Comons have past such a Godly vote, which makes the presbyterians rather rage, then be humbled.' (Tanner, 45, p. 288.) See also 'Some Seasonable and Serious Queries . . .' 1670.

¹⁸ Pepys, Feb. 10.

¹⁹ L. J., xii, 181.

toleration to Roman Catholics appeared in the king's speech. Nevertheless, the suspicion as to the intentions of the Cabal helped to unite the Commons in opposition to all schemes for toleration.²⁰ Information was given to the House of dissenters interrupting and disturbing divine service, and holding meetings contrary, it was alleged, to the law. Mr. Lawrence, ejected from Baschurch in 1662, and his Shropshire friend, Philip Henry, were falsely reported to have torn the Prayer Book, trampled the surplice under their feet, and pulled the minister out of the pulpit.²¹ A little was quite sufficient to kindle the smouldering anger of the Commons. Members complained that divine service was almost entirely neglected. Many parsons, they said, had altered the Liturgy from 'as many as are here present,' to 'as few as are here present.'²² 'Wonderful tugging there was in this debate,'²³ but on March 4th Charles was desired by the Commons to issue a proclamation ordering the strict enforcement of all penal laws against Papists and Protestant Nonconformists.²⁴ Charles had no alternative but to comply: ²⁵ the question of supply had yet to be taken into consideration. Dissenters once more despaired; *Episcopalian*s rejoiced. 'The constancy of the votes of the House of Commons, for the suppressing of Conventicles, and non conformists . . . gives to my old age a new vigour, and reparation of health,' wrote the Bishop of Lichfield to Sheldon. 'The Lord be praised, who hath entred into the hearts of those prudent & religious patriots.'²⁶

On March 11th, the Commons resumed the consideration of that part of the king's speech relating to the possibility of uniting all Protestants. Many members spoke in favour of toleration, and some even of comprehension.²⁷ It was suggested that two or three of the most eminent Presbyters might be made bishops, and so an end put to nonconformity. The majority opposed all such suggestions. Presbyterian tenets, they said, were destructive of all government, for they held, 'that the King is but Minister Bonorum'—'he is greater than any one man, but less than the People'—'Salus populi suprema lex,' and many such doctrines. When the discussion was resumed on April 8th, Sir F. Holles moved 'that the

²⁰ Ranke, iii, p. 482.

²¹ P. Henry's Diaries, p. 209.

²² Grey's Debates, i, p. 97.

²³ Verney Memoirs, iv, p. 194.

²⁴ C. J., ix, p. 60. See 'A Few Sober Queries Upon the late Proclamation. . .'

²⁵ C. J., ix, p. 61.

²⁶ Tanner MSS., 45, p. 295.

²⁷ Grey, i, pp. 110-15.

King may be desired by the House to call together what number and whom he pleases of Dissenters, as he thinks fit, to hear them.²⁸ Most of those who spoke were in favour of toleration, urging the well-worn arguments of trade and peace. Waller complained that 'our Clergymen, by their laziness, whip people of the Church'; while Sir T. Meres reminded the House of the failure of the previous conference which was spent in 'bitter railing'.²⁹ Ultimately the proposal was negatived by 176—70.

The Commons acted wisely in refusing to listen to suggestions for a conference. Had they stopped here, there could have been little complaint. Three weeks later, however, they passed a bill for the continuance of the former 'Act against Conventicle',³⁰ adding a clause that any two justices of the peace might impose a fine on people attending these meetings, not exceeding £5 a time on anyone, to be levied by distress. It was proposed that all people taken at mass should be subject to the like penalty, but upon a division of the House, the proposal was defeated.³¹ The bill passed the Commons by 144 to 78,³² but was dropped by the Lords, now engaged in a controversy with the Commons over the Skinner case. Taking advantage of this, Charles ordered the House to adjourn. By successive adjournments parliament was prevented from meeting again until October, 1669.

Charles had met with discouragements sufficient to turn a less determined man from his purpose. Again and again during his short reign he had been compelled, greatly against his will, to put out proclamations against all Nonconformists. It is evident from the conduct of parliament, and from the untraceable rumours that floated here and there, that many had penetrated his designs. Parliament, too, had the whip-hand: it controlled the purse. Yet the king proceeded resolutely on his way. In September of this year, 1668, he gave audience to Manton, Bates, Jacomb, and Ennis—a Scotch Nonconformist—at Arlington's lodgings, where they presented an address acknowledging the clemency of his Majesty's government and the liberty which dissenters enjoyed.³³ Charles, in reply, reminded them that he had always been inclined to toleration, but that the securing of it was a matter of time and of difficulty.³⁴ They must wait

²⁸ Grey, i, p. 126.

²⁹ Grey, i, pp. 128-9.

³⁰ H.M.C.R., viii, p. 126.

³¹ H.M.C.R., xiii, ii, p. 147.

³² Grey, i, p. 146.

³³ C.S.P.D., 1668-9, p. 96. Cf. Lansdowne MSS., 1,023, p. 469.

³⁴ Baxter, iii, pp. 36-7.

until the business ripened, and in the meantime use their liberty temperately, so as to avoid open offence and scandal to the government. 'It is said he was pleased to add that he had been too long King of a party, and now he resolved to be King of all his subjects.'³⁵ This address of the Presbyterians was afterwards, according to Manton, considered and approved by the Cabinet Council, but nothing further was done.

Though nothing came of this latest move, Nonconformists were generally unmolested so long as parliament was not sitting. The Earl of Kincardine acquainted the Earl of Lauderdale with the daily growth of conventicles in Scotland.³⁶ 'It hath been encouraged,' he complains, 'by the general report there is here of the avowdnes of conventicles in England and Ireland What truth is in the reports from England and Ireland I know not, but if there be slackening of the reins there, it will be hard for us to hold them strait here.' The bishops, by their zeal in attempting to destroy the meetings, rendered themselves very unpopular.³⁷ To this date belongs 'Room for the Cobler of Gloucester and his Wife: With several Cartloads of Abominable Irregular, pitiful stinking Priests,' written by Ralph Wallis under the pseudonym of 'The Cobbler of Gloucester':

'Room for Prelates, here comes a Company ;
Room for Prelates, and ev'ry Coat-Card ;
Archbishops and Bishops, Archdeacons and Deans ;
Room for Prelates, and for the Black-Guard.
Cathedrals and Chapters, with Anthems and Raptures,
And all the Hierarchical Rabble,
With all of that sort, that make us good sport
In the Chore, as a Fool with his Babble.'

He goes on to bring against the clergy of the Church of England the most exaggerated charges of drunkenness, immorality and popery.³⁸

³⁵ Lansdowne MSS., 1,023, p. 469.

³⁶ Lauderdale Papers, ii, p. 125.

³⁷ Cf. Cosin Corresp., ii, pp. 197, 198, 199. Ambrose Barnes, pp. 404-5. Western MSS., 28,181, p. 205.

³⁸ Cf. 'Felo de Se, or the Bishops Condemned Out of their own Mouthes: Confessing their Politick Devices, and unjust Practices, to settle and maintain their Lordly Dignities and private Interests' Can the following letter refer to this pamphlet of Wallis? 'I hear Wallis the author of the pamphlet I sent, walks about boldly scoffing, and threatening another worse even, ready for press. Certainly thees Vipers should not be let free to spitt theyr Venome, his Way is very taking with people, with whom scoffes are far more powerful than arguments, as having little of reason, more of fancy. I beg your Grace's advice concerning this fellow.' (Bp. of Hereford to Sheldon. Western MSS. 28,181.)

In 1669, Lord Ashley, throughout his varied career the consistent friend of civil liberty and religious toleration, drew up for the king's perusal a memorial on the decay of land-rents and trade, and upon the possibility of preventing emigration and fostering immigration.³⁹ He expressed it as his conviction that no expedients were likely to succeed in remedying the evil so long as men were deprived of religious freedom. By no severity of law could Nonconformists be reclaimed to the Church of England. Therefore he proposed that all, except Fifth-Monarchists and Roman Catholics, should have liberty to assemble for the exercise of their religion, provided that no person should be admitted to office except such as could bring proof of conformity; that all should pay tithes and dues to the established church; and that dissenters elected to offices should pay the fines usually paid when Conformists declined the honour. That the king ever received this paper there is no proof, but it is worthy of notice that the declaration issued three years later was constructed very much on the lines suggested by Ashley in this memorial. Moreover, Charles at this time inclined more and more towards toleration.⁴⁰

Ashley and Charles were both powerless to check the zeal of Sheldon and of the strongly episcopal Commons. The former once more sent out instructions to the bishops to exert themselves in reducing the number of conventicles. He required them also to make inquiries as to the number of conventicles held in each diocese;⁴¹ the numbers and social status of the people that usually met at them; the names of ministers, teachers or leaders; the authority they pretended and from whom and upon what hopes they looked for immunity. The king, too, was persuaded to issue a proclamation, July 16, 1669, ordering justices to put in execution the laws for the suppression of conventicles, and particularly to proceed against the preachers according to the

³⁹ Christie's 'Shaftesbury,' Appendix I.

⁴⁰ 'You may think this resolution was taken since my last dispatch, for indeed there was then nothing of it, though the King was before (now dores are opened and things reserved may go abroad) very ill pleased with almost everything done (in the Commons), especially that which regarded himself and good reason had; next with their meddling with religion; then their insisting as they did upon the controversie with the Lords, &c. He is now beginning to declare himself more vigorously against persecution of people for their Religion, and says upon that subject things most pungent and unanswerable, and yesternight speaking of it used an expression to signify his resolution not to do it, ten time so strong as "I will hold you a groat" and you know that wager used to binde pretty hard.' (Sir Robert Moray to Lauderdale, Lauderdale Letters, ii, p. 170.)

⁴¹ B.M. Add. MSS., 34,670. p. 70. For report on Lancashire see Appendix IV.

Five Mile Act.⁴² In November a bill was introduced into the House of Commons providing for the continuance of the expired act against conventicles, but before it could be carried through both Houses, parliament was prorogued.⁴³ Taking advantage of the lapsing of the act, and the failure to renew it, conventiclers displayed a most marked activity. At Canterbury, for example, there were two conventicles of 600 or 900 each; at Dover one of 500 or 600; at Sandwich one of 600 or 700; at Kendal they met in great force, while at Coventry, a man might, 'if so disposed, hear 6 or 7 sermons every Sunday, and make nothing of it.'⁴⁴ Elsewhere persecution continued. The Earl of Exeter not only 'seized upon a conventicle (at Peterborough)⁴⁵ and sent the ablest of them to the gaol here . . . but gave a most Excellent severe charge to all officers and the Justices against them.' Similar stories came from Exeter, Oxford and Lancashire.⁴⁶ Despairing clergy and justices complained that the ordinary machinery was quite ineffective. 'Little good there is to be done by juries and the troublesome way of inditement.'⁴⁷ 'I can certify for Coventry . . . that nothing will bring them into tolerable obedience but a severe law.'⁴⁸ 'I see daily to my heart's grief, the poor sheep committed to my trust, snatcht out of the fold, by cunning wolves . . . The Justices are almost all resolved to sit still.'⁴⁹ Nor is this surprising. Whenever conventiclers appeared before the Council to answer for their misdeeds, they escaped with nothing worse than a reprimand.⁵⁰

Nonconformists must have recognised that they would not be allowed to escape for any length of time: the question of supply was always a pressing one with Charles. On February 14, 1670, the Commons met in a rage. Monk and many others reported that dangerous and seditious meetings were held near Westminster, where great numbers of evil-affected persons frequently met.⁵¹ The new bill against conventicles was brought forward. Yet there were signs of a new development in thought and politics; perhaps for the

⁴² Lansdowne MSS., 1,023, p. 475. Cf. London Gazette, 383. Tanner MSS., 44, p. 137.

⁴³ C. J., ix, 102. See Tanner, 44, p. 142.

⁴⁴ C.S.P.D., 1670, pp. 25, 59, 90.

⁴⁵ Western MSS., 28,181, p. 303.

⁴⁶ Ibid., pp. 207, 263; H. M. C. R., ii, 245; P. C. R., ix, p. 92.

⁴⁷ Harleian MSS., 1,377.

⁴⁸ Tanner MSS., 44, p. 183.

⁴⁹ Western MSS., 28,181, p. 267.

⁵⁰ See P. C. R., ix, pp. 12, 19, 23.

⁵¹ Chandler's Debates (Commons), i, p. 129.

first time, the leading speakers in both Houses were on the side of toleration. Edward Seymour, Trevor, Lyttleton and Waller spoke against this new penal bill.⁵² They reminded members of the promises made at Breda and reiterated since; they showed that none would suffer but the truly conscientious; they pointed out that the bill was evidently contrary to the wishes of the nation, else why should they provide penalties against constables and justices for neglecting to do the duties imposed upon them by the bill; it might pass according to the votes, but it would certainly be against the reason of the House. It did pass by 138 to 78, and was sent up to the Lords.⁵³ Marvel wrote to his cousin on March 21; 'They (the Lords) are making mighty alterations in the Conventicles Bill, (which, as we sent it up, is the quintessence of arbitrary malice) The fate of the Bill is uncertain, but must probably pass, being the price of money. The King told some eminent citizens, who applyed to him against it, that they must address themselves to the House, that he must not disoblige his friends; and that had it been in the power of their friends, he had gone without money.'⁵⁴

Owen, asked to draw up arguments against the bill after it had passed the Commons, laid before the House of Lords his 'State of the Kingdom with respect to the Present Bill against Conventicles.'⁵⁵ In it he maintained that the whole kingdom was at peace, all persons being under the highest satisfaction. The bill would introduce disturbance into every county, city, borough, town, and almost every village. Trade would be ruined. 'It is justly feared that the bill, as proposed, leaves neither the king himself, nor any of his subjects, that just right liberty and privilege, which are inseparably inherent in him and his crown, and which belong unto them by the fundamental laws of the land The present prosecution of them who dissent from the church of England, tends directly unto the subversion of all these things, and hath in a great measure already effected it; nor doth it promote the interest of religion, or conformity unto the church itself.'

The king, through some of the peers, made one more effort to obtain parliamentary recognition of the royal power of dispensation. His friends offered for insertion in the bill a proviso securing to the king all the rights, powers of prerogatives, at any time exercised or enjoyed by himself or

⁵² Grey, i, p. 160.

⁵³ P. Henry's Diaries, p. 220. See also H.M.C.R., Kenyon MSS., p. 84.

⁵⁴ Marvell's works, ii, p. 316.

⁵⁵ Owen's Works, i, 263. Wilson, i, p. 273.

any of his predecessors.⁵⁶ 'There never was,' writes Marvell to a friend, 'so compendious a piece of absolute universal tyranny. But the Commons made them ashamed of it, and retrenched it.'⁵⁷ The Lords had to be satisfied with a provision that neither this act, nor anything therein contained, should extend to invalidate his Majesty's supremacy in ecclesiastical affairs. They offered further amendments⁵⁸—that the reference in the preamble to the act of 35 Eliz. should be omitted;⁵⁹ that the penalties should be reduced to one-half and imprisonment abolished;⁶⁰ that the liability of any one attending a conventicle should be limited to £10;⁶¹ that the offence should be restricted to indoor meetings;⁶² that there might be appeals from penalties above 10s.;⁶³ and that penalties should be divided into three parts, of which one should be given to the poor.⁶⁴ There are also, among the papers of the House of Lords, copies of two provisoos, one to the effect that neither the act, nor any pains, &c., should continue in force for more than three years from 24th June, 1670; the other providing that no person should be prosecuted under any other statute 'for or concerning any matter or things relating to religious exercises or worship,' but for all such matters should be prosecuted under this act only.⁶⁵ If these provisoos were offered, they were certainly not accepted. It is perhaps significant of a gradual change, that the Lords were able to soften, though so slightly, the hard terms proposed by the Commons.

Yet the act as it passed was sufficiently severe.⁶⁶ All its clauses were to be construed 'most largely and beneficially' for the suppression of conventicles, and no warrant was to be made void for any default in its form. To stimulate the activities of justices, magistrates, constables, tithing-men, churchwardens, &c., penalties of £100 in the case of justices and magistrates, and £5 in the case of others, were to be imposed for non-performance of duty. A bribe of one-third of the fines incurred was offered to informers. As if this were not sufficient, Sheldon sent out a circular letter to the bishops in his province ordering them to see that the new act, 'which has laid open a hopeful way for the peace and settlement of the Church, and the uniformity of God's service in the same,'

⁵⁶ C. J., ix, p. 148. Grey, i, p. 246.

⁵⁷ Marvell's Works, ii, p. 325. Cf. Cosin Corresp., ii, p. 234.

⁵⁸ H.M.C.R., viii, p. 142.

^{59, 60, 61, 63, 64} Carried.

⁶² Not Carried.

⁶⁵ H.M.C.R., viii, p. 143.

⁶⁶ For text see 'Documents,' p. 491.

was faithfully executed.⁶⁷ 'I have,' he concludes, 'this confidence . . . (considering the abundant care and provisions this act contains for our advantages) we shall within a few months see so great an alteration in the distractions of these times, as the seduced people returning from their seditious and self serving teachers to the unity of the Church.'

Strictly speaking the act was applicable only to meetings held for purposes other than worship.⁶⁸ Purely religious meetings could not be held dangerous to the safety of the State. Conformist pamphleteers and satirists really acknowledged this when they represented conventicles as consisting for the most part merely of discontented women. 'These women that make conventicles swell thus are for the most part either discontented wives, melancholy widows, or stale Maids who for their foul shape, ill-looks and worse conditions, despair of ever having Husbands: having been cross'd in their loves or thwarted in their ambition they presently turn abandoners of the World, and as in Italy such run into Cloysters, so in England into conventicles . . . The Leaders have the voices of Tragedians, and the gestures of Comedians, and act the Hypocrite to the life. They ramp and tear in the Pulpit as though they would pull their Maker out of Heaven, and keep such a bawling in their Prayers, as though they either bid defiance to the Magistrates, or thought God was not amongst them; but when they pray for the King, they fall their voice as though they were afraid their Prayers would reach Heaven, and I believe that their praying for the King is but as an honest Parson once pray'd for Oliver, who in's prayer said: "And since O Lord we are commanded to pray for our Enemies, we beseech thee to be merciful to the Lord Protector."⁶⁹

Whether the act really applied to religious meetings or not made no difference to those entrusted with its execution. Thus from May, 1670, to April, 1671, that is to say, while parliament sat, dissenters in England suffered as perhaps they had never done before. Train bands and the military were called out to

⁶⁷ Cardwell, ii, pp. 276-9.

⁶⁸ See 'A true Declaration of our Innocency . . . and How we are clear from the Penalties of the late Act made against Seditious Meetings.'

⁶⁹ 'The Life and Death of Ralph Wallis The Cobler of Gloucester.' Of the deceased pamphleteer, the author writes: 'He was a base Instrument, which the Fanatics us'd to rake in dirt with, that they might not foul their own fingers. The Fanaticks Triumph'd in him over the Church of England, because (although he gave them so many just provocations, by writing and speaking dishonourably of them) none ever answer'd him.' It is certainly true that the writings of Wallis abounded with abominable and filthy stories told to the detriment of the Church of England clergy.

break up meetings ; in London at least blood was shed.⁷⁰ One of the most ancient rights of Englishmen—trial by jury—was set on one side. Nay, even in his absence a man might be convicted—‘ so that men might be, and often were, convicted and fined, without having any notice or knowledge of it till the officers came and took away their goods, nor even then could they tell by whose evidence they were convicted.’⁷¹ The only appeal was to the Quarter Sessions, and any offender appealing and failing was mulcted in treble costs.⁷² Nonconformists were ‘ ferretted out of every hole by the train-bands.’ Spies were engaged to watch the justices and constables and to report when they found them hesitating to carry out the law.⁷³ Churchwardens, overseers, constables, and others were intimidated into a diligent and vigorous prosecution of offenders. Juries were forbidden to return verdicts in favour of the accused.⁷⁴ At Old Bailey, the jury did venture to declare the Quakers, Penn and Mead, ‘ Not Guilty,’ but they were fined for bringing in a verdict ‘ *contra plenam et manifestam evidentiā*.’⁷⁵ Informers drove a singularly lucrative trade: indeed by 1671 informing had become a recognised profession. Those who adopted it were, as a rule, rascals whom the gallows claimed sooner or later: ‘ men of sharp wit, close countenance, pliant tempers, and deep dissimulation—the most profligate wretches.’⁷⁶ They were sent forth among Nonconformists ‘ with instructions to thrust themselves into all societies, conform to all or any sort of religious profession, Proteus-like change their shapes, and transform themselves from one religious appearance to another as occasion should require. In a word, to be all things to all—not that they might win some, but that they might, if possible, ruin all.’⁷⁷ They went about boasting that

⁷⁰ Hatton Corres., i, p. 58. C.S.P.D., 1670, p. 433. Marvell’s Works, ii. p. 349.

⁷¹ Elwood, pp. 169-70.

⁷² Quarter Sessions, p. 178. Cosin Corresp., ii, p. 243.

⁷³ The Bp. of Lichfield would have used spies against those of his clergy who were suspected of omitting or curtailing divine service. ‘ I can hit on no better remedie then to send out apparitors and spies to the most suspected parishes; and upon proof of such neglect, to suspend the incumbent ab officio et beneficio for six months, and to assure the spie or informer the fourth part of the proffits.’ (Tanner MSS., 44, p. 26.)

⁷⁴ C.S.P.D., 1670, p. 431. C.S.P.D., 1671, p. 20.

⁷⁵ C.S.P.D., 1670, p. 440. See Cosin Corresp., ii, 252; ‘ The Peoples Ancient and Just Liberties Asserted in the Tryal of William Penn . . . ’ ‘ An Answer to the Seditious and Scandalous Pamphlet . . . ’ ‘ Truth Rescued from Imposture.’ From this case sprang the famous case of Bushell.

⁷⁶ Elwood, p. 171.

⁷⁷ For informers see:—Crosby, ii, p. 238; Gough, ii, p. 114 (note); Gough, ii. pp. 307-18, 319-20; ‘ Life and Death of Mr. Badman ’; ‘ A Rebuke to the Informers . . . ’; C.S.P.D., 1664-5, pp. 550-1; Owen’s ‘ The Case of Present Distresses,’ &c.

they would be wealthy in no great time. One even went so far as to ask for a grant of the building in which he had surprised conventiclers.⁷⁸ Their victims, in default of payment of fines, had to submit to the seizure of their goods, which were put up to auction, but frequently with little success. John Eyre wrote despondently to the Bishop of Salisbury: 'Many distresses have been made against those convicted, and the things were offered for sale in the markets and fairs, yet not one penny was bid but by way of sneer; as 6d. or 13½d. for a cow, and such like, save what I bought myself, without occasion, but chiefly to encourage others.'⁷⁹ Copies of 'seditious' pamphlets, especially of one entitled 'Some Seasonable and Serious Queries upon the late Act against Conventicles,'⁸⁰ were scattered broadcast. The Quakers, never backward in admonishing the king, or in teaching him his duty, addressed themselves to both king and parliament, pleading for mercy, and reminding Charles how in the time of his adversity a way had been made for him to come into his own place of authority.⁸¹

Despite the bitterness of the persecution, the end was not achieved. Nay, it may have been on account of the tremendous suffering that magistrates, and even constables in some parts, began to look with pity upon the persecuted, and declared themselves unwilling to become instruments of torture. The Bishop of Exeter makes complaint to Sheldon that he is being continually foiled.⁸² Francis Bonnell, and other constables, were fined for failing to break up and report seditious meetings.⁸³ Still more distasteful must have been the order to seize many places used for the purpose of Nonconformist worship, and henceforth to be supplied by ministers appointed by the bishops.⁸⁴ Some of the bishops themselves must have viewed the order with great disfavour. Wilkins of Chester, loved by conformists and dissenters,

⁷⁸ C.S.P.D., 1670, p. 418.

⁷⁹ C.S.P.D., 1670, pp. 417, 433.

⁸⁰ C.S.P.D., 1670, pp. 219, 227, 229, 230. 'Tending to discover How much it is against the express Word of God, the positive Law of the Nation, the Law and Light of Nature, and Principles of Prudence and Policy.' The writer considered that it would have better become the wisdom and gravity of the State to make a vigorous act against drunkenness, profane swearing and immorality. He contends that the act is expressly contrary to the king's printed declarations and promises. He complains that the bishops secured the passing of the act only by bribery and by the sending of 300 letters to members of Parliament urging them to support the Church.

⁸¹ C.S.P.D., 1670, p. 594.

⁸² Western MSS., 28, 181, p. 257.

⁸³ M'sex Records, iv, p. 16.

⁸⁴ London Gazette, 478. Harleian MSS., 7,377, p. 16.

would have chosen more conciliatory methods.⁸⁵ Others were heart and soul with the persecutors. Perhaps most conspicuous among these was Parker, Bishop of Oxford, formerly a Puritan. As so frequently happens, the convert became an extremist. From his pen flowed satire and invective against his former co-religionists. Owen, who had ventured to reply to Parker's 'Ecclesiastical politie,' was styled 'the great bell-weather of disturbance . . . whose dunghill is his only magazine, and calamy his only weapon.' The tables were more than turned when Marvell took up his pen on behalf of Owen and produced 'The Rehearsal Transpros'd.' Of Parker he declares 'he doth so verily believe himself to be a Wolf, that his speech is all turn'd into howling, yelling and barking: and if there were any Sheep here, you should see him pull out their throats and suck the blood. Alas, that a sweet Gentleman, and so hopeful, should miscarry! For want of Cattel here, you find him raving now against all the Calvinists of England, and worrying the whole Flock of them.'⁸⁶

Charles, meanwhile, had been occupied with work of a different nature. He had just concluded with Louis XIV, at Dover, a secret treaty, the true import of which was known only to Louis, Colbert, who represented France at the English court, the Duchess of Orleans, Arlington, Clifford, Arundel, Bellings and Charles himself. Not even the other members of the Cabal were admitted to the secret. There is more than a suspicion that, as early as 1662, Charles was drawn into negotiations with the papacy, but met with discouragement from Alexander VII.⁸⁷ According to Boero, these negotiations were re-opened in 1668, the object being the conversion of Charles to Roman Catholicism.⁸⁸ The agent employed was James de la Cloche, that mysterious natural son of Charles. In secret conclave, Charles was advised by his English friends to apply for aid to the French monarch. To that end Arundel and Bellings were despatched to Paris. Later in the year, Colbert was taken into confidence in order to facilitate

⁸⁵ Adam Martindale, p. 196.

⁸⁶ In connection with this controversy see also: 'Insolence and impudence triumphant,' 1670; 'Animadversions on a new book . . .' 1670; 'Truth and innocence vindicated' 1670; 'A defence and continuation of the ecclesiastical polity' 1671; 'S' too him Bayes' 1673; 'Gregory, Father Greybeard, With his Vizard off' 1673. Marvell writes to Sir E. Harley, May 3rd, 1673: 'Dr. Parker will be out next week . . . I perceive by what I have read that it is the rudest book, one or other, that ever was published . . . I will for my own private satisfaction forthwith draw up an answer that shall have as much spirit and solidity in it as my ability will afford and the age we live in endure.' (Portland MSS., II.M.C.R., xiv, App. ii, p. 337.)

⁸⁷ Lord Acton in 'Home and Foreign Review,' No. 1.

⁸⁸ Gentlemen's Magazine, Jan. 1866. Ranke, v, iii.

negotiations. At length Charles handed his terms to Colbert for acceptance by Louis. The only details which concern us are the provisions that Louis should pay Charles £200,000 on the public declaration of the latter's conversion, and £800,000 a year in exchange for the support of Charles against Holland. Louis, though declaring the terms inadmissible, did not yet break off negotiations. At last, in May, 1670, Charles's beloved sister Henrietta, Duchess of Orleans, visited Dover and brought the negotiations to a successful issue.⁸⁹ On June 1st the treaty was signed by Colbert, Arlington, Arundel, Clifford and Bellings.⁹⁰ Charles, the treaty ran, being convinced of the truth of the Roman Catholic faith, and resolved to declare himself a Roman Catholic, but perceiving the possibility of disturbances in England if such a step were taken, was to receive from Louis two million francs, one million three months after the exchange of ratifications, and one million three months later, and to be aided, if necessary, by six thousand foot-soldiers raised and maintained at the expense of Louis. England and France were pledged to make war on Holland, neither to make peace without the other's consent.

Such are, for our purpose, the essential details of the treaty which has been brought forward by many writers as proof conclusive that the scheme of James II to convert England to its old faith was not only planned by his brother, but also tentatively put into operation. To such a conclusion the character of Charles and the details of the treaty itself are strongly opposed. The supposition that Charles had deep religious convictions of any kind is ludicrous. Yet none but an enthusiast would have ventured such a scheme. Had Charles been as religious as his brother he was yet far too shrewd and too indolent to dream of entering upon a scheme which he well knew must involve him in a conflict from which he wisely shrank. He was thoroughly aware of the nation's deep-rooted hostility to Roman Catholics and their creed: he was not ignorant of the history of his father's fatal career. Unlike his father, he had sufficient imagination to enable him to estimate the effect that would be produced on the minds and temper of his people, were he to attempt anything so contrary to national sentiment. Moreover, taking the treaty as it stands, there is no suggestion that Charles intended to attempt the conversion of England. True, had he declared his own conversion, his position as supreme head on earth of the English church would have been an impossible one. But

⁸⁹ See Clarke's 'Jas. II,' i, 449.

⁹⁰ Mignet, iii, p. 187.

Charles never seriously contemplated such a declaration. In the midst of his negotiations with Louis, he was contriving a union of Protestant powers.⁹¹ Was Louis then duped by his brother monarch? The objects of Louis were political rather than religious. In 1666 he had been in communication with the exiled Independents with the purpose of keeping Charles engaged in England, and thus preventing his interference in any of Louis's schemes. In 1670 the French monarch was engaged in a tremendous struggle with the United Provinces, and to ensure success was determined to secure, if possible, the neutrality or alliance of other powers. As in 1671, he won over the Emperor, and in 1672 Sweden, so now in 1670 he bound Charles to give him active assistance. This was well worth the money promised; the religious provision was unimportant. Charles, on the other hand, would accept all the money that Louis was willing to pay.

Had Charles entertained sinister intentions, the persistence of parliament must have shown him that his task was almost superhuman. In November, 1670, the Commons once again demanded the issuing of a proclamation against Papists. On a complaint, too, that one Heyes had violated the latest act against conventicles by attempting to corrupt and divert Sterling, Lord Mayor of London, from executing the act, a committee was appointed to inspect the said act, and to report wherein it was defective.⁹² The result of the committee's inspection was seen in the introduction of a new bill for the more effectual suppression of seditious conventicles, now declared to be riots. Additional clauses were inserted to make conviction and punishment more certain, to prevent dissenters from making fraudulent conveyances of goods, and to stop them from shutting their doors while their goods were being hidden.⁹³ Fortunately, parliament was prorogued before the bill had passed the two Houses. "Blessed be God," exclaimed Sir E. Harley.⁹⁴

The sustained severity of parliament drove many loyal and pious Nonconformists to despair. Philip Henry, in his diary,⁹⁵ complains that 'all acknowledge that there is at this day a number of sober, peaceable men, both ministers and others among dissenters, but who either doth or saith anything to oblige them? Who desireth or endeavoureth to open a

91 'Valet's Tragedy,' pp. 30-42.

92 C.J., ix, p. 167.

93 H.M.C.R., ix, ii, p. 9. Marvell's Works, ii, p. 382. Carte MSS., 77,

p. 573.

94 H.M.C.R., xiv, ii, p. 323.

95 p. 235.

door to let in such? Nay, do they not rather provoke them to run into the same extravagancies with others by making no difference, but laying hold on them as if they were as bad as the worst.' Still dissenting bodies increased in numbers. At Dover and Hull the mayors 'winked at conventicles'; the new Lord Mayor of London, Sir Richard Ford, 'laid the laws asleep'; the authorities at Yarmouth complained that of twelve thousand communicants, not five hundred received the sacrament.⁹⁶ Sir J. Williamson writes: 'The people grow more fanatic; all the Presbyterians are growing to Independents and so are their teachers.'⁹⁷ The truth is that, generally speaking, magistrates, knowing that Charles was averse to persecution, were content with 'now and then fining of them as well to let them know we are awake and observe their actings as to remember them that the Act against conventicles is still in force against them.'⁹⁸

In 1671, rumours circulated that proposals for liberty of worship were being again discussed.⁹⁹ Robert Stephens heard 'news of a comprehensive bill, and that more than one bishop thought it convenient to join forces against the papists.' Philip Henry was informed that every dissenter was to be charged five shillings a year, 'nomino poenae,' but he wisely concluded that it was neither probable nor feasible. No such proposal had been made, but many about the court were urging the king to take matters into his own hands, and to grant toleration by the exercise of his prerogative. Ennis, a Scotch Nonconformist, failing to influence certain courtiers to plead with the king, himself sought out Charles, taking with him some of the London dissenting ministers—Manton, Annesley, Watson, Whitaker and Vincent.¹⁰⁰ Charles, as usual, signified his dislike of persecution, but declared that though he had all tenderness for them, he could not grant liberty. Williamson, in his note on the interview,¹⁰¹ expresses what was probably a general opinion when he writes that it were better, in view of a possible breach with Holland, to satisfy the petitioners before national difficulties should compel more liberal terms. Apparently, in conducting negotiations between the court and dissenters, there was always one great difficulty; 'the phanaticks would not believe one that came to court, though it were an angel.' Moreover,

⁹⁶ C.S.P.D., 1671, p. 47.

⁹⁷ C.S.P.D., 1671, p. 496.

⁹⁸ H.M.C.R., Fleming Papers, p. 86.

⁹⁹ H.M.C.R., xiv, ii, p. 322.

¹⁰⁰ P. Henry's Diaries, p. 240. C.S.P.D., 1671, pp. 562-3. Baxter, iii, p. 87.

¹⁰¹ C.S.P.D., 1671, pp. 562-3.

the Presbyterians at this period showed a tendency to split into two factions ; the older ministers, variously styled 'dons' and 'five-mile men,' and the younger, nicknamed 'ducklings.' Their differences were of no vital importance, but Lord St. Albans and Ennis found great difficulty in preventing an open rupture.

By December, 1671, it was taken for granted by those close to the king, that the issue of a declaration of indulgence was merely a matter of time. Williamson was so convinced on this point that he proceeded to lay down the principles that must govern its construction. 'As to all consolidation,' he writes, 'let the rule be as wide as may be, and then a provision for liberty to all Dissenters under certain incapacities This to be first framed by the King with all secrecy, upon feeling of the pulsies of all parties.'¹⁰² The secrecy advised by Williamson was well maintained. Mournfully discussing their gloomy prospects one moment, dissenters and Roman Catholics were the next moment filled with joy by the king's 'gracious' Declaration of Indulgence, March 15th, 1672.

¹⁰² C.S.P.D., 1671-2, pp. 44-6.

CHAPTER V

THE DECLARATION OF INDULGENCE. 1672-3

SEEMINGLY the work of a few days, the Declaration was in reality the work of almost as many years. Since his return from exile, Charles had been moving, sometimes, it is true, unconsciously, but none the less surely, towards this end. On his arrival in England in 1660, he had quite failed to appreciate the strength of the feeling against the sects and in favour of the old order of church government. In his ignorance he had imagined that it would be no difficult task so to settle the religious question as to secure toleration for Roman Catholics as well as for dissenters. Failing in this he had tried to persuade parliament to his course, only to be foiled by his chosen minister and by a strongly Episcopalian Commons. Contrary to their wishes he could do nothing, for they controlled supplies, and knew the advantage they held. Consequently, he had left matters to take their own course, caring little so long as he himself secured his fill of this world's pleasures. The fall of Clarendon had opened up new possibilities: at last, as he was reminded by his boon companions, he was king in fact as well as in name. The nett result had been more failures, more disappointments. Distasteful as it might be, the truth had been brought home to him that Clarendon, in promoting the several penal laws, had only been acting in accordance with the feelings of a parliament which had still to be faced. Now, at length, his opportunity had arrived. By his secret treaty with France he had money sufficient to enable him to dispense for some time with parliamentary aid. By virtue of his supremacy in matters ecclesiastical, which parliament itself had re-asserted in 1670, he would ignore parliament and gain his end by proclamation. Hence the Declaration which was now published:—¹

‘ Charles Rex.

‘ Our care and endeavours for the preservation of the rights and interests of the church, have been sufficiently manifested to the world, by the whole course of our government since our

¹ Neal, iv, p. 461. At the same time a similar declaration was issued in Scotland, but the Council at Edinburgh returned it, desiring some amendments, ‘not thinking it fitting that Nonconformists should be so largely indulged.’ (C.S.P.D., 1671-2, p. 288.)

happy restoration, and by the many and frequent ways of coercion that we have used for reducing all erring or dissenting persons, and for composing the unhappy differences in matters of religion, which we found among our subjects upon our return; but it being evident by the sad experience of twelve years, that there is very little fruit of all these forcible courses,² we think ourselves obliged to make use of that supreme power in ecclesiastical matters, which is not only inherent in us, but hath been declared and recognised to be so, by several statutes and acts of Parliament; and therefore we do now accordingly issue this our declaration, as well for the quieting of our good subjects in these points, as for inviting strangers in this conjecture to come and live under us; and for the better encouragement of all to a cheerful following of their trades and callings,³ from whence we hope, by the blessing of God, to have many good and happy advantages to our government; as also for preventing for the future the danger that might otherwise arise from private meetings and seditious conventicles.

'And in the first place, we declare our express resolution, meaning and intention to be, that the Church of England be preserved, and remain entire in its doctrine, discipline and government, as now it stands established by law; and that this be taken to be, as it is, the basis, rule, and standard of the general and public worship of God, and that the orthodox conformable clergy do receive and enjoy the revenues belonging thereunto, and that no person, though of a different opinion and persuasion, shall be exempt from paying his tithes or dues whatsoever. And further we declare, that no person shall be capable of holding any benefice, living, or ecclesiastical dignity or preferment of any kind, in this our kingdom of England, who is not exactly conformable.

'We do in the next place declare our will and pleasure to be, that the execution of all, and all manner of penal laws in matters ecclesiastical, against whatsoever sort of nonconformists or recusants, be immediately suspended, and they are

² Cf. James II's declaration of 1687: 'And in this we are the more confirmed by the reflections we have made upon the conduct of the four last reigns. For after all the frequent and pressing endeavours that were used in each of them, to reduce the kingdom to an exact conformity in religion, it is visible the success has not answered to the design, and that the difficulty is invincible.' (Cardwell, ii, 309.)

³ Cf. James II's declaration of 1687: '... conscience ought not to be constrained, nor people forced in matters of mere religion: it has ever been contrary to our inclination, as we think it is to the interest of government, which it destroys by spoiling trade, depopulating countries, and discouraging strangers, and finally, that it never obtained the end for which it was employed.' (Cardwell, ii, 309.)

hereby suspended ; and all judges, judges of assize and gaol delivery, sheriffs, justices of peace, mayors, bailiffs and other officers whatsoever, whether ecclesiastical or civil, are to take notice of it, and pay due obedience thereto.

‘ And that there may be no pretence for any of our subjects to continue their illegal meetings and conventicles, we do declare, that we shall from time to time allow a sufficient number of places as they shall be desired, in all parts of this our kingdom, for the use of such as do not conform to the church of England, to meet and assemble in order to their public worship and devotion, which places shall be open and free to all persons.

‘ But to prevent such disorders and inconveniences as may happen by this our indulgence, if not duly regulated ; and that they may be the better protected by the civil magistrate ; our express will and pleasure is, that none of our subjects do presume to meet in any place, until such places be allowed, and the teacher of that congregation be approved by us.

‘ And lest any should apprehend that this restriction should make our said allowance and approbation difficult to be obtained, we do further declare, that this our indulgence as to the allowance of the public places of worship, and approbation of the preachers, shall extend to all sorts of nonconformists and recusants, except the recusants of the Roman Catholic religion, to whom we shall in no wise allow public places of worship, but only indulge them their share in the common exemption from the penal laws, and the exercise of their worship in their private houses only.

‘ And if after this our clemency and indulgence any of our subjects shall pretend to abuse this liberty, and shall preach seditiously, or to the derogation of the doctrine, discipline or government, of the established church, or shall meet in places not allowed by us, we do hereby give them warning, and declare we will proceed against them with all imaginable severity. And we will let them see, we can be as severe to punish such offenders when so justly provoked, as we are indulgent to truly tender consciences.

‘ Given at our court at Whitehall this 15th day of March, in the four and twentieth year of our reign.’

It is impossible to trace with any accuracy and in detail the progress of the declaration through the various committees of the Council, on account of the absence of reliable contemporary evidence. In his diary,⁴ Williamson, who was in a position to give valuable information, devotes three

⁴ S.P.D., Car. 11, 319 A.

interesting but exceedingly meagre entries to the subject. He notes that on March 6th, the proposal to grant an indulgence to 'tender consciences' was first debated. Eight days later a draft copy was formed and accepted at the 'Foreign' committee of the Council, a committee which was usually consulted on important questions both of foreign and domestic policy. The following day the Council, at which were present all the members of the Cabal besides others,⁵ passed the Declaration and gave orders for it to be printed and published. Some trouble was caused by Bridgeman, who was persuaded with difficulty to put the seal to the measure.⁶

Many men at the time expressed their conviction that the Declaration was 'shot out of the grand minister's (*i.e.*, Shaftesbury's) quiver.'⁷ It must be confessed that the wording of the document suggests the pen of Shaftesbury. The reasons given for its publication bear great resemblance to those given in his memorial of 1669. Were he its author, his motives at all events were worthy. He held that some such concessions were necessary in the interests of trade, which could not prosper while articles of faith were the only road of access to civil rights. Protestantism, too, he maintained, would be firmly established only by toleration, which, far from injuring the Church of England, would eventually prove to be for its interest, inasmuch as it would lead men into a broader way, to live peaceably with dissenting and differing Protestants at home and abroad. As for Roman Catholics, he pointed out that they had by the Declaration no greater advantage than they already possessed by the connivance of the bishops.

But it is more probable that Clifford was the real prime mover. Locke, the intimate friend of Shaftesbury, maintains that the measure was proposed by Clifford, whose motive was not only the establishing of the Roman Catholic religion, but also the building up of a monarchy after the pattern of that of the Tudors. This same Declaration was to be the first step. Grant liberty of conscience, he argued, which men value above all else, place upright judges in Westminster Hall to decide

⁵ There were present:—King, D.'s of York, Buckingham, and Monmouth; Earls of Bridgewater, Bath, Anglesey, Craven, Lauderdale; Lds. Arlington, Newport, Holles, Ashley; the Treasurer, Vice-Chamberlain; Secy. Trevor, Sir John Duncombe and the Master of the Ordnance. (Privy C. R., x, p. 193.)

⁶ Bridgeman did not surrender the seals, as Burnet asserts, rather than be in any way responsible for the declaration. He surrendered them on November 17, 1672, refusing to seal commissions for martial law or to issue injunctions stopping suits brought against Bankers by victims of the stopping of the Exchequer. ('Examen,' p. 38. Hatton Corresp., Nov. 19, 1672.)

⁷ Cf. Oldmixon, i, 566; 'Examen,' 38; Clarke's 'Jas. II,' i, 488.

cases of 'meum' and 'tuum,' garrison Tilbury to dominate London, Plymouth to control the south, and Hull to keep in subjection the north, and none would have the will, much less the power, to resist the king.⁸

One thing is certain: Clifford and Shaftesbury took the lead in the matter. That Buckingham and Arlington made no objections is also quite clear. When asked in parliament in the following year who it was that advised the issuing of a declaration, 'I do not disown,' Buckingham answered, 'that I advised it: Being always of Opinion that something was to be done in that Nature in matters of Conscience, but no farther than the King might do by Law.'⁹ Again, in 1675, when asking permission to bring in a bill for indulgence, he expressed his conviction that property, 'that the people of England are fondest of,' could never be effectively protected without an indulgence to all Protestant dissenters.¹⁰ Arlington, when impeached in 1675, acknowledged his share of responsibility. 'It was a concurrent opinion, and, we thought, upon good grounds, and advisable by Law.'¹¹ The Duke of York, by this time a declared Roman Catholic, would naturally offer no opposition to his royal brother.

The reason why Charles chose this particular moment is not far to seek. England stood on the verge of a war against Holland; war was, in fact, declared but two days later, March 17th. It was imperative to allay, if possible, the unrest and discontent which prevailed among many classes. Never since 1660 had the country been in a condition of absolute quiescence. During the disgraceful Medway episode in 1667,

⁸ 'Letter to a Person of Quality,' cf. 'Examen,' p. 38; 'A Letter Sent from beyond the Seas,' p. 22; Evelyn, March 12, 1672. 'The story of Ld. Clifford has made noise enogh though it happened in a corner. He, the King, and the Duke of York, being one day at a certain house in a private room where one Sir W. B. who being a person who frequently accommodated the Court with mony, was wont to get access at all hours. In presumption of this liberty, he was ready to enter the chamber, when hearing the King speak with more than ordinary warmth, his curiosity made him hearken with particular attention, but could only hear some broken imperfect expressions. The Duke also spoke so low, he could not understand him, but Clifford was loud as in public, answering the King in a very audible and articulate manner in these words: "Sir, if you are driven off by fears, you will never be safe, the work will do if you declare yourself with resolution, there are enow to stand by you." The King replied, "This name popery will never be swallowed by the people." Upon which, the King started off his seat and said, "Somebody is at the door," whereupon Clifford the Treasurer hastily opened it, fell furiously upon B, and dragging him to a pair of stairs kickt him down' (Ambrose Barnes, p. 223.)

⁹ Parliamentary History, 1673.

¹⁰ Duke of Buck.'s Speech in the House of Lords, Nov. 16, 1675.

¹¹ Parliamentary History, iv, p. 657.

the king and his councillors had trembled for the internal peace of the kingdom. Fearful that every hour might bring news of insurrection and revolt, that the veteran soldiers of Cromwell would rise for vengeance and for religious liberty, the lieutenants of the various counties had been compelled to muster the militia and the train-bands to crush any attempt at rebellion. The danger was no less at the close of 1671; nay, it was possibly greater, for hope deferred for a dozen years had truly made many hearts sick. The despair of dissenters may have been silent, but it was none the less deep. The Declaration of Indulgence was a genuine attempt to remove, on the eve of what promised to be a great struggle, the greatest cause of discontent. Thus Arlington writes to the resident in Vienna: 'I add also a late Declaration his Majesty hath made in favour of the Nonconformists, that we might keep all quiet at home whilst we are busiest abroad.'¹²

Scurrilous and satirical rhymsters suggested other and less worthy motives:—

' Phanaticks they'll to Providence impute
 Their Thraldom, and immediately grow mute ;
 For they, poor pious Fools, think the Decree
 Of Heaven falls on them, though from Hell it be ;
 And when their reason is abas'd to it,
 They forthwith think 'tis Religion to submit,
 And vainly glorying in a passive Shame,
 They'll put off Man to wear the Christian name :
 Wherefore to lull 'em do their Hopes fulfill
 With Liberty, they're haltered at your Will ;
 Give them but Conventicle-room, and they
 Will let you steal the Englishman away,
 And heedless be, till you your nets have spread,
 And pull'd down Conventicles on their Head.'¹³

That Charles was influenced by other motives it would be vain to deny. Not a dreamer of many dreams, he was

¹² Lord Arlington to Sir Bernard Gascoign resident in Vienna ('Miscellanea Aulica,' p. 66). North remarks: 'The King might be, and I believe was really, persuaded, that the Majority of the People, at least such as were sour and Purse-Proud, were Sectaries who had neither Principle, nor good Will towards him, and were, if not humoured, most like to create Disturbances, or to join with others that longed to be at it again; and, upon this account, the King, having no better Information at that Time, might have a like Respect for them, as the Indians have for the Devil: Therefore, if an Indulgence would satisfy and keep them quiet, there was a politic Use of it; and it may be observed, that in the Declarations at the Restauration, keeping the Peace is joined with Indulgence as one of the Reasons for it.' ('Examen,' pp. 430 and 451.)

¹³ 'The Dream of the Cabal: A Prophetick Satyr,' wrongly dated 1672. (See 'Letters to Williamson,' ii, p. 146. The true date is 1673.)

troubled by one vision. In that he saw Roman Catholics walking into freedom of worship through a gate opened wide to all dissenters. That the Declaration was intended as the first step towards the conversion of England to its ancient faith there is no proof.

The Declaration itself was liberal and politic in its provisions. In being free from compulsory oaths, it was more liberal than dissenters had either hoped or expected. When expressing the demands of Protestant dissenters for exemption from all laws and penalties, civil or ecclesiastical, for their dissent in some things from the Church of England, and a liberty to worship God peaceably in their own assemblies, John Owen had coupled with these claims an obligation on the part of Nonconformist preachers and teachers to renounce popery and to subscribe unto such of the Articles of Religion as did not concern rites and ceremonies.¹⁴ The liberty he claimed was now offered without oaths or subscriptions. The restriction imposed in the shape of licences was necessary if the government was to protect itself against the abuse of private conventicles for the hatching and maturing of plots. The Declaration would also commend itself to a large section of the community on account of the impetus which, it was considered, it would give to trade. Shaftesbury was not alone in thinking that the commerce of the nation suffered heavily by the imposition of penal statutes in matters of religion. Among the many pamphlets written against persecution, one had received particular attention. The writer—‘a Lover of his King and Country’—had forcibly asserted that ‘imposing upon Conscience in matters of Religion is a mischief unto Trade, transcending all other whatsoever, for if the Traders and Manufacturers be forced to flye their Countries, or withdraw their stocks, by vexatious prosecutions, the having Natural Commodities in a Countrey, or no great impositions upon them will signifie little to the Prince or People; And Liberty of Conscience is not only the Common Interest of all the Nation, but especially of his Majesty, in that he obligeth all his Subjects equally to him, especially Non-conformists Oh that England, whilst they have time, would be warned by the miseries of others, to avoid the rock they have split on By a general consent of Nations, liberty in ceremonies, invented by men, seems to be accounted necessary for the good of humane society Imposition upon conscience

¹⁴ ‘An Account of The Grounds and Reasons on which Protestant Dissenters desire their liberty,’ 1670.

hinders the resort of Strangers and . . . drives the soberest and most industrious sort of Natives into corners And now, since it appears that Trade depends much upon the Liberty of Conscience, the suggestions against it, either from unexperienced, or concerned persons, are not to be regarded ; Country Gentlemen, bred only at home, to a Religion which exacts little from them besides Conformity to humane Ceremonies with opposition to everything that is contrary, are not generally competent Judges of this Interest, nor yet any sort of people, who, having spent their dayes in studying Books, more than Men or Things, employing themselves more in punishing tender Consciences for not obeying in the Worship of God the Commandments of men, than in the Weightiest duties of their Callings, as in suppressing Papists, ignorant, debauched and scandalous Ministers, rendring their actions thereby to proceed more from Self-interest, than an enlightened and sincere Conscience, are not in this case against demonstration to be harkened unto. . . . I know that the enemies to Liberty of Conscience, do impose upon the world an apprehension of danger in it ; but the position hath no foundation in reason, presidents, or any thing else, for a confident running down of truth, for their own advantage, it no where appearing, that ever Protestants dissenting from their National Church, having Liberty of Conscience given them, did rise up against their King, or disturbed the quiet of their Countrey.¹⁵

The spirit of the Declaration would appeal also to the rapidly increasing body of sceptics and to the broad-minded of all sects—usually comprehended in the term ‘Latitudinarians.’ Though not a final solution to the standing problems of a hundred years, it was a distinct advance in the mutual relations of religious sects. To all dissenters was granted a security which they had not hitherto experienced. Thus, had the declaration been issued by a sovereign whose protestantism was beyond doubt, it might have received a favourable reception. Unfortunately Charles had given cause for the entertainment of suspicion and distrust sufficient to guarantee the placing of the worst construction upon his actions. In vain might writers point out that if he would not

¹⁵ ‘The Present Interest of England stated,’ 1671. See also the D. of Buckingham’s ‘Letter to Sir Thomas Osborn, one of His Majesties Privy Council, Upon the reading of a Book, called, The present Interest of England stated,’ 1672, in which he says: ‘I fully agree with him, that it is the Interest of the King of England, to make himself head of the Protestants, and that he should do it, not by being violent for any one Sect, but by taking generally into his Protection all Christians whatsoever, that will not submit to the Government of the Church of Rome.’

change his religion when a minor under his mother's care, he would not do so at this stage; that he had withstood temptation in exile; that he had forbidden attempts to convert his young brother, the Duke of Gloucester; that the fear of losing his kingdom, or of facing 1,100,000 determined subjects, would restrain him.¹⁶ All this was very true, but doubts are not so easily removed. Nay, the very fact that any one should go out of his way to endeavour to prove Charles to be a good Protestant spoke volumes of itself. Moreover, the Declaration gave Roman Catholics immunity from annoyance. It was quite true, as Shaftesbury asserted, that they had hitherto worshipped in their own houses, but that was by connivance merely. The most ardent advocates of religious toleration not infrequently demanded that no indulgence should be granted to members of a sect which had contrived 'the horrible Plot on the fifth of November.' Not until 'Gunpowder Plot' had become little but a name, not until every shred of danger from Roman Catholic princes had passed away, would Englishmen be willing to grant them a reasonable toleration.

But there was a more serious objection to the Declaration, which Charles would have to face. Without seeking the consent of parliament, he had taken upon himself to suspend penal statutes in matters ecclesiastical. The supreme power of the sovereign had certainly never been strictly defined. The predecessors of Charles on the throne of England had claimed and exercised the right of suspending the operation of penal statutes. As a rule they had used the right in moderation; consequently, prior to the Stuarts, it had rarely been questioned. But at the beginning of the seventeenth century, politics in England were undergoing a decided change; the theory of government began to receive a vast amount of attention. The point of discussion was not so much practical advisability as theoretical right. As a natural result, the civil struggles followed: the battle against prerogative was fought and won. Were Charles to be allowed to suspend penal statutes in matters ecclesiastical, it would be no great step to the suspension of laws generally, and from that to the establishment of a monarchy more absolute than that of Charles I from 1629 to 1640. The civil wars would have been fought in vain. Such, at all events, would be the argument even of numerous members of the 'Cavalier' parliament.

It was with no little anxiety that Charles and his cabal

¹⁶ 'The Interest of the United Provinces,' 1673.

waited to see how the Declaration would be received. The Duke of York had ventured to prophesy that, as had ever been the case, none but Roman Catholics and Protestants of the Church of England would make a conscience of submitting to the will of the king, whereupon Lord Halifax advised him to wait and see, for he believed the latter 'would roar out against the declaration with all their might.'¹⁷ Halifax proved the more reliable prophet. The pulpits echoed and re-echoed the national cry 'No popery! No popery!'¹⁸ Archbishop Sheldon and Henchman, Bishop of London, took the lead in instructing the clergy to preach against popery, to set clearly before their congregations the rights of the controversies between the Church of England and the Church of Rome, and what was more surprising in an age when their pulpits rang generally with the doctrine of passive obedience, to magnify the authority of the legislature. The clergy for the most part readily obeyed, so that Charles deemed it necessary to interfere. In his anger, he bade Sheldon to put a stop to this preaching on controversial subjects, for it was clearly done to alienate the hearts of his people from him and his government. When Charles made a similar order in October, 1662, no serious objection was offered.¹⁹ Juxon was then primate, and moreover the order was not issued at such a crisis. As it was, Sheldon, unwilling to act without due caution, called a meeting of clergy to seek their opinion and advice. What answer should he return to his Majesty? Tillotson suggested that Sheldon should reply that it was more than strange for a professedly Protestant monarch to forbid his clergy to preach in defence of protestantism. There, apparently, the incident ended. The interference of Charles was natural but hardly wise. It was a false conclusion that because he had been allowed to bridle the clergy ten years earlier he could do so again. It could only tend to increase suspicions already existing. Nor is the attitude of these strong churchmen less natural. Had not Sheldon previously, on a similar occasion, warned Charles of 'God's heavy wrath and indignation'? His clergy, no less than he, regarded this Declaration as the heaviest blow given to the Established Church, since the Restoration.²⁰ They must then, as guardians of the Church's interests, provide against possible injury.

The Presbyterian rhymster, Dr. Wilde, without waiting to inform himself of the attitude which Presbyterians would

¹⁷ Clarke, 'Jas. II,' ii, 137.

¹⁸ Burnet, i, p. 555.

¹⁹ Cardwell, ii, pp. 253-9.

²⁰ Reresby's Memoirs, p. 19.

adopt towards the measure, in an outburst of joy and gratitude, hastily scribbled laudatory letters and verses, which his opponents stigmatised, and not without reason, as 'vile and dirty pamphlets.' His excuse was ready before the charge was made: he had been blinded by the splendour of the favour.

' So Great, so Universal, and so Free !

This was too much (Great Charles) except for Thee,

For any King to grant, or Subjects hope :

Like Thee to do thus, would undo the Pope.

Yea, though his Vassals should their wealth combine

To buy Indulgence half so large as Thine.

So much for his thanks! Then comes the excuse:—

' Pardon, dread Sir, nay pardon this coarse Paper,

Your License 'twas made this poor Poet caper.

He then goes on to twit the famous astrologer that no warning had been given of such an event:—

' Well Willie Lille,²¹ thou know'st all this as well

As I, and yet wouldest not their Lordships tell.

I know thy Plea too, and must if allow,

PRELATES should know as much of Heaven, as thou :

But now Friend William, since it's done and past,

Pray thus, give us Phanaticks but one Cast,

What thou foresaw'st of March the Fifteenth last ;

When swift and sudden as the Angels flye,

Th' Declaration for Conscience—Liberty ;

When things of Heaven burst from the Royal Breast,

More Fragrant than the Spices of the East.

I know in next years Almanack thou'l write,

Thou saw'st the King and Council over-night,

Before that morn, all sit in Heaven as plain

To be discern'd as if 'twere Charles's Waine,

Great B, great L, and two great AA's were chief,

Under Great CHARLES to give poor Fan's²² relief :

Thou saw'st Lord Arlington ordain the man

To be the first Lay-Metropolitan.

Thou saw'st him give induction to a Spittle,

And constitute our brother TOM DOE-LITTLE.^{23, 24}

²¹ William Lilly, the astrologer.

²² Fanaticks.

²³ A play upon the name of Thomas Doolittle, ejected from St. Alphege, London.

²⁴ 'Dr. Wild's Humble Thanks For His Majesties Gracious Declaration for Liberty of Conscience, March 15, 1672.'

In his letter to his friend 'J. J.' upon this occasion he thus describes the reception of the Declaration:—'Here,' he writes, 'are not many Phanaticks of either extream, for we have a very pious and prudent good Minister, who labours to make ill Men good and good Men better; who never makes faces at the Liturgy as if he were drinking a potion, nor in his Sermons makes others make faces, as if he were giving them one. He wears a Surpliss, but never proves it to be descended from the ancient House of the Ephods, to please the Children of the Church; nor doth he blow his Nose in it to clear himself from superstition with the scrupulous. He hath nothing to do with Tythes, not so much as pigs, and therefore there is but little grunting at him, and his Church is the fuller of Ears, because his Barn hath none. But yet I must tell you, this new Dose did work diversely; One cryed, "the Devil take George"; Another cryed "Heigho"; and fell to whistling "O brave Oliver"; a Third at the first Reading fell to sneezing, and yawning, and breaking wind, as if he had Ants Eggs in his Belly. But it broke no hearts (that I can hear of) nor sleeps neither, for the angriest ended their huffs with "Its no matter, the Bishops are well enough served."²⁵

More sober dissenters were less impetuous than the reverend doctor. Having survived the first feelings of intense relief, they experienced doubts as to whether they should accept the provisions of the Declaration and return thanks to the king. They could see that the toleration therein granted rested on but a slender basis.²⁶ There was also the more searching question whether it was right and expedient for them to use a toleration which was extended to Roman Catholics, whom they hated and feared as greatly as did the bishops. As usual, pamphleteers devoted page upon page to the discussion. One of the most important pamphlets, circu-

²⁵ 'A letter from Dr. Robert Wild, to his Friend Mr. J. J. &c,' 1672. Wilde was answered in many pamphlets, e.g. 'Moon-shine, or the Restauration of Jews-trumps and Bagpipes, etc,' 1672; 'Poor Robin's Parley with Doctor Wilde etc.'—

'To scoff at Clergy-Men of all degrees, And saucily to Stile them Judases,
Is sure t' Abuse this Act of Grace, the King Indulged your Preaching
not your Libelling.'

'Flagellum Poeticum or, a Scourge for a Wilde Poet, &c.,' in which the writer describes a dissenting sermon and a dinner which followed. At dinner

'Their spirits warm'd, yet from 'em no jests came,
But what like Criples halted and are lame.
At length says one, I think the Declaration
Hath chang'd the doom of damning this whole Nation.'

²⁶ Owen Stockton's MSS. Diary, July 17, 1672.

lated probably in manuscript form, was 'Queries upon the Declaration,' in which numerous objections were presented, quite apart from the question of popery. The author infers that by accepting a licence Nonconformists own the king's supremacy; they confess that he has a right to suspend old laws and to make new ones; they consent that all disapproved meetings are seditious conventicles; and they tacitly agree that the doctrine and discipline of the Church of England is the basis, rule, and standard of the general public worship of God, as asserted in the Declaration. This 'clamorous and anonymous' pamphlet found an answer in 'Vindiciae Libertatis Evangelii.' 'Our assailant,' says the writer, 'commands all of us to retire from, and not touch the unclean Licence with no less peremptoriness than "Come out from among them, my people and be ye separate" The Declaration is set upon the Rack, and there tormented with impertinent Queries, to which it is made to cry "guilty," and to confess what it never knew.' He argues that Nonconformists are justified in accepting exemption from the operation of penal statutes; he denies that by so doing they tacitly consent to all contained in the Declaration; and he maintains that the king has suspending power. The majority of Nonconformist pamphleteers welcomed the Declaration, one going so far as to see in it a fulfilment of the prophecy, *Isaiah xxx, v. 20.* 'And though the Lord give you the bread of adversity, and the water of affliction, yet shall not thy teachers be removed into a corner any more, but thine eyes shall see thy teachers.'²⁷ Jolly, a member of the well-known Lancashire dissenting family, saw 'a great hand of God in it for special good, if we so take and use it considering the circumstances of the providence.'²⁸ To Philip Henry there appeared dangers, appreciated only by those who loved order in all things and had some affection for the old parochial system. In his diary,²⁹ where he recorded his spiritual experiences and his inmost thoughts, he wrote the day after the Declaration was issued: 'The danger is, lest the allowing of separate places help to overthrow our Parish order which God hath own'd, and beget divisions and animosityes amongst us, which no honest heart but would rather be heal'd. The way were for those in place to admit the sober non-conformists to preach sometimes occasionally in their Pulpits, which would in time wear off prejudices and mutually strengthen each others hands against the common enemy the Papists, who will

²⁷ 'The Resurrection of Lazarus' John Salkeld, 1672.

²⁸ Jolly's Note Book, p. 6.

²⁹ Philip Henry's Diaries, p. 250.

fish best in troubled waters—we are put hereby in a Trilemma, either to turn flat Independents or to strike in with the conformists, or to sit down in former silence and sufferings, till the Lord shall open a more efficient door.³⁰

The Independents, we are told, received the Declaration with great joy; the papists triumphed. For neither of these sects was there any possibility of comprehension within the national church. All that they could expect—toleration—was here granted them: there was no reason why they should refuse it. Of the Roman Catholics, Daniel Fleming remarks, 'after such a rate as they run, I think they'll so overdo their business as in time they'll undo it.'³¹ They persuaded themselves that it was in their interests alone that Charles had taken this step.

The offer of licences made no difference to the Quakers. In spite of the persecution which had fallen most heavily upon them, they had never ceased to preach, speak and write boldly. They had bearded Charles, much to his amusement, in the very midst of his court. Though the gaols were filled with their brethren, they met to worship after their fashion. So now, without licences, they preached as before, but, perhaps, with increased vigour.

As late as June 7, 1672, Colbert wrote to his royal master, Louis XIV:³² 'It is certain that the declaration which the King of England has published for liberty of conscience, the signs or rather almost certain proofs which the Duke (of York) has given of his conversion,—and the suspicions which are also entertained of the conversion of the King himself, have so strongly irritated all other religions against the government that one sees nothing but libels and seditious writings. My Lord Arlington has shown me one³³ which gives a perfectly true account of the designs of the King of England, and tries to unite Protestants and Presbyterians against the common enemy, who, it says, are the Pope, the King of England, and his ministers.' The object of Arlington was probably to

³⁰ Cf. 'Toleration not to be Abused,' 1672. 'To gather themselves into distinct and separate Congregations is a practice unlawful, in the judgment of the Presbyterians themselves. The scope of the Declaration is not to make such meetings more lawful than they were before; or to approve them as good and lawful . . . The inconveniences of such meetings, especially by the Presbyterians, are very likely to be great; and indeed such as may justly affright them from making the experiment.' See also Adam Martindale, p. 198; 'Of True Religion, Heresy, etc.,' by Milton; 'Sacrilegious desertion rebuked and Toleration Preaching Vindicated.'

³¹ H.M.C.R. Fleming Papers, p. 90.

³² Christie's 'Shaftesbury,' Appendix II.

³³ Probably refers to the pamphlet 'Queries upon the Declaration.'

blind Colbert to the true situation. Charles had no intention of fulfilling the conditions of the secret Treaty of Dover. He was seeking to evade compliance with the first clause by showing Louis that if it were to be attempted, it could only be with the support of French troops. Charles knew perfectly well that Louis would rather allow the clause to be ignored than lend an army for the purpose of making Charles absolute and, therefore, a possible rival.

Colbert sent his message in June. Some months before, the London Nonconformist ministers had resolved to avail themselves of the offer of licences. The Lancashire ministers, too, had met at Manchester, where 'there was sweet harmony.'³⁴ Burnet, on the authority of Stillingfleet, asserts that Nonconformist ministers had been bribed by the court to accept the Declaration and to abstain from raising an outcry against popery; that pensions of a hundred pounds to the more eminent, and of fifty pounds to others, were offered and in some cases accepted.³⁵ He adds the circumstantial detail that Baxter had refused to touch the money. Burnet has probably exaggerated, for Stillingfleet, writing of the Declaration, puts it thus: 'I grant some (Dissenters) did not (Join with the Papists for a General Toleration), although very powerful Charms were at that time used to draw them in: and not a few swallowed the Specious Bait, although some had the Skill to disentangle themselves from the Hook which went along with it.'³⁶ Stillingfleet's words were changed and added unto by common gossip until it was freely asserted that some of the Nonconformists had received money from the Roman Catholics to bribe them to promote Roman Catholic interests. Referring to this charge, Owen styles it 'such a putrid calumny, such a malicious falsehood, such a frontless lie, as impudence itself would blush at being made an instrument to vent it, and withal extremely ridiculous.'³⁷ Baxter not only makes no mention of the proffered money, but also affords negative evidence to the contrary. On the other hand, it must be noticed that the younger Calamy did not attempt to deny that money was offered and accepted, but rather excuses those who received it—'I cannot see why they should not'—and places it on record that at some period of the reign Owen received from Charles II a thousand guineas for the alleviation of the

³⁴ O. Heywood, i, 289.

³⁵ Burnet, i, 55.

³⁶ 'The Unreasonableness of Separation,' Edward Stillingfleet, 1681.

³⁷ 'An Inquiry into the Original nature . . . of Evangelical Churches,' John Owen, 1681.

distress among Nonconformists.³⁸ Even granting that money was given to dissenters, it cannot be supposed that it was either given or received as a bribe. The decision of Nonconformists to accept the Declaration was influenced by other considerations. They appreciated, as well as most people, the constitutional question involved; but they felt that it was hopeless to expect anything from parliament. For twelve years they had endured persecution, experienced alternate hope and despair, and still there was no sign of relief. They felt, too, the bitterness of a toleration which was extended to Roman Catholics; but, after all, these were still forbidden to worship in public. Even were Nonconformists to repudiate the Declaration, Roman Catholics would continue to worship in private.

Despite the hesitation of the Presbyterians, the stern opposition of Anglican divines, and the disapproval of the universities, the Declaration survived its birth. The task of issuing licences was taken in hand by Arlington and the secretaries of state. Dr. Butler³⁹ and Colonel Blood,⁴⁰ of Tower fame—‘as gallant hardy a villian as ever herded in that sneaking sect of the Anabaptists’—acted as intermediaries between them and the Nonconformists. The conditions governing the issue of licences were apparently left to the discretion of Arlington and Williamson. On March 19, Butler forwarded to Williamson a scheme which he thought would meet with the approbation of all concerned. Above all things, he advised that licences should be granted liberally and free from all entanglements, for nothing would make Nonconformists loyal to the king sooner than would kindly treatment.⁴¹ ‘A little love,’ he says, ‘obligeth more than great severity.’ He proposed that reasonable time should be allowed for the taking out of licences, which should be granted even to Nonconformists that were without definite congregations; that teachers should be licensed to preach in any licensed building,⁴² and on particular occasions, as for fasting or thanksgiving, to preach in private families; that, so far as safety allowed, those whose principles would not suffer them to accept this

³⁸ Life of Calamy, ii, pp. 469-470. See also Stoughton, ‘Church of the Restoration,’ i, p. 411 (note).

³⁹ ‘Dr. Butler was a Church of England clergyman who was for ever place-seeking and hanging on the Court through Prince Rupert and others.’ ‘The Leigh Journal,’ March 22, 1906.

⁴⁰ Evelyn, 10 May, 1671. H.M.C.R., vi, p. 370. Pope, ‘Life of Seth Ward,’ pp. 68-70. Letters to Williamson, i, p. 15.

⁴¹ C.S.P.D., 1671-2, pp. 217, 232, 252.

⁴² Noted by Williamson ‘Negativated.’

act of grace, should be connived at.⁴³ 'By this means,' he concludes, 'all will have a dependency on his Majesty; all the ministers must be gratified, or at least not disengaged, if you will have a continued content; if you have the ministers, you have all. If to this act of grace were added a way to come at justice in law cases in a short time,⁴⁴ I think it would be beyond the power of the devil or bad men to give his Majesty any disturbance in his kingdoms. These things will abundantly please, and through some perverse laws (losers may have leave to speak) since I was 24, which is now 20 more, I have been in a manner wholly taken off thoughts of self, and have been willing to busy my troubled thoughts in the consideration how I might serve God in my generation.' The advice of Butler, sound in all particulars, was followed even to granting licences to those Nonconformist preachers that had not a people, for among those granted was one to Francis Bampfield, 'Nonconforming minister,'⁴⁵ and another to Richard Coore, Antinomian, 'of the true Christian persuasion, not against Episcopal, Presbyterian, or Independent.'⁴⁶

Butler's work did not end here. He went amongst Nonconformists, emphasising the wonderful and gracious care shown towards them by Charles, and urging them to return him thanks and to make their addresses to the king.⁴⁷ But the London ministers were divided in opinion.⁴⁸ Some were prepared to set forth their appreciation of the king's loving kindness in terms hardly less extravagant than those of Wilde. Manton and his followers stood out for moderation in their language, 'lest parliament should fall upon them.' Finally they agreed: on March 28, introduced by Arlington, they waited on the king to present this address, penned by Owen:—⁴⁹

' May it please your Majesty

' We humbly thank you for the favour of this opportunity, wherein we may acknowledge that deep sense which we have of your gracious clemency, the effects whereof we every day enjoy. It is that alone which has interposed between the severity of some laws and some men's principles, and which otherwise would have effected our ruin; though we are

⁴³ Marked by Williamson, 'Quakers, Fifth-Monarchy.'

⁴⁴ Cf. words attributed to Clifford, p. 80.

⁴⁵ C.S.P.D., 1672, p. 292.

⁴⁶ C.S.P.D., 1672, pp. 10, 99.

⁴⁷ C.S.P.D., 1671-2, p. 232.

⁴⁸ Baxter, iii, 99.

⁴⁹ C.S.P.D., 1671-2, p. 609; 'Gentlemen's Magazine,' xxxi, p. 253. Baxter states, incorrectly, that on this occasion Owen made an extempore oration.

persuaded that neither the one nor the other could countervail your majesty's damage thereby.

' It is this principally wherein the kings of the earth may render themselves like to the King of Heaven, when by their power, wisdom and goodness, they relieve the minds of their peaceable subjects from fear, distress, and distracting anxieties, and trials on their persons (rendering their lives burthensome to themselves and useless to others) which your majesty has done towards multitudes of your subjects in this nation. And we do rejoice in this advantage to declare to your majesty, that as we have a conscientious respect to all those obligations to loyalty which lie on the commonalty of your subjects, so being capable of a peculiar one in the greatest of our concerns, the liberty of our consciences and assemblies, which others are not, (as deserving no more but what they esteem their right by law) we hold it our duty which we engage in before you, not only to be partakers with them, but to preserve in our minds a peculiar readiness to serve in your majesty's commands and occasions, as we shall be required or advantaged for it. And we humbly pray the continuance of your gracious favour and we shall pray that God would continue his presence with you in all your affairs, and continue your royal heart in these counsels and thoughts of indulgence, whose beginnings have restored quietness to neighbours, peace to counties, emptied prisons and filled houses with industrious workers, and engaged the hands of multitudes into the resolved and endeavoured readiness for your majesty's service, as not knowing anything in this world desirable to them, beyond what, under your government, and by your favour, they may enjoy.'

Addresses and petitions for licences poured in from all parts of the kingdom, including even the Channel Isles.⁵⁰ Addresses came from the city of Exeter and the county of Devon; from Over Compton, Taunton, North Cheriton, Bradford Abbot, Beccles, Coventry, Dorchester, Yeovil, Kingsclere, Merriot, Morley in Yorkshire, Dartmouth, Bath, Cirencester, Cornwall, Wiltshire and Dorset. Troubled by no such qualms as vexed the London divines, the petitioners indulged in terms of gross servility. ' We cannot but look on your Majestie as the breath of our nostrills, as a repairer of our breaches, and a Restorer of Paths to dwell in ':⁵¹ ' by this unparalleled Act of grace, you have made our hearts to leape and our soules to sing for Joy of heart and have layd such a sense of your royll condescension and indulgence upon us

⁵⁰ S.P.D. Car. II, 320 and 321.

⁵¹ S.P.D. Car. II, 320, p. 37.

if we cannot but now, always and in all places acknowledge and celebrate the most worthy deeds done to us your poore subjects, and as men raysed out of the grave from every Corner of the land, stand and call your Majesty blessed':⁵² 'We . . . do from our Souls bless God who hath put such a thing as this into the Kings heart to extend so great favour to us; And prostrate our selves at your Majesties feet, with the most humble and heartie acknowledgment of your Majesties singular Clemencie.'⁵³ Lancashire was not silent. Some inhabitants of Manchester petitioned that Henry Newcome, the late Presbyterian vicar, might be licensed to preach in his own house. Eccles desired a licence for Edmund Jones, ejected from the parish church in 1662. Similar addresses came from Winwick (Warrington), Tockholes in the parish of Blackburn, Little Hilton, Oldham, Blacklie, Blackburn and Salford.⁵⁴ From March, 1672, to February, 1673, the demand for individual licences was continuous. Occasionally application was made in person at London, but more usually the request was made in writing either by the preacher himself or by agents acting for him. It did occasionally happen that a man received a licence before he knew that request had been made for one. A large proportion of the applicants were ministers who had suffered ejection between 1660 and 1662. Others were the cobblers, tinkers, tailors, joiners and tanners, thus satirised before and after 1660 by royalist pamphleteers:—

‘A Shoemaker a Dipper was,
and left off stitching Leather,
Ye duckt poor fooles to purge their sins,
like silly sots together.’

The places for which licences were sought varied greatly in character. Some boldly asked leave to use large public halls, churches that were vacant, and chapels that were unendowed. Thus the Haberdashers' Company petitioned that Dr. Jacomb might be allowed to preach in the company's public hall, while Thomas Pike successfully requested a licence to preach in Blacklie Chapel.⁵⁵ For the most part private houses were used, but barns, out-houses, and malt-houses were more than occasionally made to serve as places

⁵² *Ibid.* p. 184.

⁵³ S.P.D. Car. II, 321, p. 91.

⁵⁴ See Appendix V.

⁵⁵ S.P.D. Car. II, 320, p. 1. C.S.P.D., 1672-3, p. 504. Dr. Nicholas Stratford, Dean of Manchester, complained that Pike was successful because he vowed that the chapel was unconsecrated and devoid of a minister, both of which statements were false.

of worship. Meeting-houses, too, began to spring up all over the country but particularly in Lancashire. In that county no less than seventeen are mentioned—two at Blackburn, one each at Blacklie, Bolton, Chowbent, Cockey Moor, Coppull, Ellel, Goosenard, Hardshaw, Hindley, Longridge, Ormskirk, Rainford, Rivington, Sankey, and Tockholes. Some of these were built specially for the purpose, but in the case of others it may be that their use as meeting-houses was decided upon after the building had begun. Many congregations, too, as a result of the Declaration, decided to erect meeting-houses, although on account of the withdrawal of licences while the buildings were yet incomplete, they were not officially recognised.⁵⁶

The licences granted were of three kinds. There was the licence allowing the use of a particular building as a meeting-place for Nonconformists. To preachers licences of two kinds were issued; one to 'Teachers of a certain Congregation,' the other to 'Teachers in general and at large'; that is to say, to itinerant preachers who went from town to town staying a night here and perhaps a week there.⁵⁷ The holder of a licence of either kind could preach in any licensed building.

It will be remembered that Charles had promised that there should be no difficulty in obtaining his 'allowance and approbation.' As it happened, licences were not to be obtained quite so easily as he had led men to expect. In the first place, they were issued only upon the payment of certain fees; not heavy, it is true. Williamson, it would seem, had at first followed Butler's excellent advice that licences should be 'large and free,' and had issued them gratis, only to be told by the same Butler that he was a fool to give himself trouble for nothing.⁵⁸ Henceforth, Nonconformists did not escape payments. Blood, for example, writes to inform a certain Wm. Mascall that he has sent him the licences for which he had asked. 'If you need any other convenient places to be licensed,' adds Blood, 'you may have them. There is no charge for them, only it is agreed that 5d. a piece for the personall licences should be gotten, and the Dore-keepers and under Clarkes should afterwards be remembered by a token of love.'⁵⁹ It would be interesting to know whether Blood got his 'token of love' as a 'dorekeeper' or as an 'under Clarke,' or whether he appropriated the

⁵⁶ Thompson MSS, iii, 129, &c.

⁵⁷ See Appendix VI for copies of licences.

⁵⁸ C.S.P.D. 1671-2, p. 366.

⁵⁹ S.P.D. Car. II, 321, p. 159.

5d. Licences for places were still issued free of charge, but in the absence of personal licences they were, of course, useless. Naturally some Nonconformists strongly resented this 'disingenuous' dealing. Thomas Gilson of Weald, Essex, complains bitterly that Blood had only sent down 'licences for our houses which signify nothing without a person; and we should have taken it better if he had sent down the personal licences, and left it to our courtesy what we would gratify the clerks and doorkeepers with, rather than to have a sum imposed on us, contrary to the King's express command that nothing should be required, and therefore we advise him to send down presently the personal licences for us, lest we make our address some other way.'⁶⁰

Still more decided was the refusal, for the first few months at least, and in the majority of cases, to grant licences for churches, chapels, or large halls. It may possibly have depended upon the attitude adopted by the authorities in the town or district in which the places were situated. There was evidently some fear that by giving prominence to Nonconformist services they would invite secessions from the congregations of the established churches. Such a course would also inevitably increase the disfavour with which Anglicans viewed the Declaration. Applications for the use of the Town Hall and County Hall, at Nottingham; Swaith Hall in Yorkshire; Morley Chapel at Batley; the West Hall at Hatfield, Yorkshire; the English School-house at Tiverton; Leather Hall at Coventry; the Moot Hall in Castle Garth, Yorkshire; the Haberdashers' and Loriners' Hall; the Shirehouse at Bury; the school-house and tolbooth at Berwick; the Moot Hall at Newcastle; the Guildhall at Salisbury; and the New Hall at Chard, were all marked by Williamson 'Not approved.'⁶¹ Although the authorities were perfectly justified in acting as they felt inclined in the matter, Butler protested against the limitation thus imposed. 'I should not be faithful,' he wrote to Lord Arlington,⁶² 'if I concealed the daily growth of jealousies. Protestant dissenters conclude that their liberty, so graciously, so freely granted by his Majesty, will be short-lived, in regard it is so stifled in the birth. Public places, which it was declared should be allowed, are now refused, and they are licensed to no more than what those of the Romish persuasion freely enjoy. They say, why not Halls, Schools, or Chapels not

⁶⁰ C.S.P.D., 1671-2, p. 589.

⁶¹ C.S.P.D., 1671-2, p. 333. *Ibid.* pp. 376, 381, 458, 466, 326, 327, 410, 313, 355.

⁶² C.S.P.D., 1671-2, p. 381.

endowed, they being by declaration only debarred Church benefices? Let others supply unendowed chapels with preaching ministers, Dissenters' desires of them presently cease, otherwise they conclude that where God hath His church, the Devil might have his chapel, it being his great work to keep the Gospel from being preached. Every day almost affords tidings (I can show some) from the countries of the many frequent and fervent blessings of God and the King. 'Tis a great pity that any thing, by lessening his Majesty's so merciful grant, should be done to hinder so good, so advantageous a work, as the getting of the hearts of the people, which now, as the heart of one man, begin to say, "Long may your Majesty live, and rule over us." These are weighty reasons, I conceive, rather of choice to allow them these public places.' The protest was perhaps not quite uncalled for, but it must be noticed that Calamy, as early as April 2nd, preached at the Curriers' Hall, St. Alphage; the Town Hall at Newbury was licensed, and late in 1672 some London merchants set up a lecture at Pinner's Hall, where, it may be mentioned, the old feud between Independents and Presbyterians again broke out.⁶³

With these exceptions, and exclusive of the fact that some attempt was made to prevent notoriously disaffected fanatics from obtaining licences, no checks were imposed. Even Oxford, much to the disgust of the younger members of the university, and in spite of the vigorous protests of the vice-chancellor, Peter Mews, had to submit to the inevitable. Almost as soon as the Declaration was issued, it was rumoured in the university city that Thomas Gilbert, an Independent, was endeavouring to procure the use of the church of St. Peter le Bailey. At once the university authorities made representations to Williamson imploring him to prevent the mischiefs which they feared must inevitably fall on the university by such an allowance. Gilbert failed to get the church, but quite a number of licences were granted to preachers in the city.⁶⁴ Mr. Penry, writing from Christ Church to his friend Mr. Norton, thus describes the result of the Declaration:⁶⁵ 'Now I think on 't, I can tell you that here are two meetings in this town, one of the Presbyters, and another of Independents and Anabaptists (the latter being both into one Congregation); the Teacher of the former is Dr. Langley formerly head of Pembroke

⁶³ C.S.P.D., 1671-2, p. 273. Baxter, iii, 101.

⁶⁴ C.S.P.D., 1671-2, p. 301. Cf. Clarke's 'Life of Anthony Wood,' ii, 244.

⁶⁵ Baxter MSS. in the Dr. Williams Library.

Colledge,⁶⁶ who began here the first time last Sunday (June 1672), and held forth two hours (possibly he was to eat roast-meat after, and so needed not to spare his breath to cool pottage) upon the Spirit, on which Subject they say he preacht in the late times near two years, and they say he was all the while so unintelligible that from that time to this nobody could tell whence the sound thereof came, or whither 'tis going. The teacher of Assembly is a Tanner of this Town, by name Titmarsh, who is cryed up much above Langley even by his own party, and doubtless would spoil the credit of other pretenders to Gifts in this Country, did not his Assistant, a Miller of Abingdon carry (I would say) the Bell, were not that a profane thing. The Junior Schollers have been something rude to these Parlour Preachers, as you know they usually are, but the Vice-Chancellor is putting out a Programme against any disorders that may happen by these Schollers.⁶⁷ Poor Peter Mews had evidently a very difficult task. That same month he had to appear in person to protect from the violence of the undergraduates 'those who would have hang'd him had he fall'n into their hands.'⁶⁸

It is somewhat difficult to estimate with accuracy the number of preachers licensed in accordance with the provisions of the Declaration of Indulgence. Frequently the same name appears more than once, perhaps in the same town, it may be in different counties. In such cases it is a question whether the name refers to the same or to different people. Thus, for example, licences were issued to a Peter Atkinson of Eller and also to one of the same name at Cockerham.⁶⁹ Does this refer to two men of that name or to the same man? Additional difficulty is experienced in estimating the number of preachers and teachers of each persuasion. The same person is sometimes registered in different entries as of two persuasions, while occasionally the persuasion of the person licensed is not mentioned. James Briscoe, of Toxteth Park, Liverpool, received a general licence as a Presbyterian on May 16, 1672, and a fortnight later received, as a Congregationalist, a licence for the meeting-house in Toxteth Park.⁷⁰ Allowing, then, that the numbers may need revision, 1,508 preachers were licensed, of whom the greater number were Presbyterians. Three, including the celebrated Richard Baxter, were licensed as general preachers; one, Francis

⁶⁶ Dr. Henry Langley was ejected by the visitors in 1660.

⁶⁷ Western MSS., 28, 184, p. 250.

⁶⁸ C.S.P.D., 1672-3, p. 93. C.S.P.D., 1672, p. 45.

⁶⁹ C.S.P.D., 1671-2, p. 587. C.S.P.D., 1672, p. 99.

Bampfield, merely as a 'nonconforming minister'; the persuasion of two preachers was undefined; twelve were variously described in different entries; and Richard Coore of Yorkshire was licensed as 'of the true Christian persuasion, not against Episcopal, Presbyterian or 'Independent.' The figures throw much light also upon the strength of nonconformity in the various counties. They show that the south-eastern and the western corners of England were the great strongholds of dissent, which, on the other hand, was far from strong in the northern counties and in Wales. Taking the different denominations, Presbyterians were strongest round London, in the West and in Lancashire and Yorkshire. Congregationalists and Independents were, of course, strong in their old home—Norfolk and Suffolk, round London, in Gloucester, Bedford and, comparatively speaking, in Wales. Of the two hundred Baptists licensed, more than eighty were in Kent, Somerset, Lincoln, Wiltshire and Norfolk. Even in these counties their distribution was curiously local. In Lancashire there were altogether 52 licensed preachers, the great majority being Presbyterians, while licences were issued for 86 places, including 17 meeting-houses.⁷⁰

Quakers had refrained from applying for licences. Indeed, it is not strange that the followers of George Fox, who described the subterfuges to which other Nonconformists were forced to resort as the 'veriest hypocrisie,' should refuse to accept licences, for thereby they might seem to deny their right to preach where and when they liked. Nevertheless, they took advantage of the comparative calm to prosecute their labours with renewed vigour. In the Weald of Kent, the renowned Penn, son of an almost equally famous father, found exercise for his energy and enthusiasm 'in planting their Gospel and enlightening that dark country which is the receptacle of all schism and rebellion.' The increase of Quakers 'and other such cattle' became a subject of sore complaint.⁷¹ Meetings were held, neither speaker nor place being licensed, but magistrates refused to prosecute or take any action, on the ground that by the Declaration the king had reserved to himself the punishment of offenders.

From another point of view, the Quakers derived great benefit from the Declaration. Relying upon the king's promise to suspend the execution of penal statutes in matters of religion, George Whitehead made supplication to Charles for the release of his imprisoned brethren. He and two others

⁷⁰ See Appendix VII for a complete list of licensed preachers and places.

⁷¹ C.S.P.D., 1672, p. 450.

were allowed to state their case before Charles and a full Council. 'When I had opened, and more fully pleaded our Suffering Friends' Case, the King gave this Answer, viz. "I'lle pardon them." ⁷² Despite the Quakers' objection to the use of the word 'pardon,' the concession was very real. In March, 1672, a warrant was issued for the release from Reading gaol of all such Quakers as stood convicted of *praemunire*,⁷³ and the sheriffs of the various counties were ordered to return 'a perfect Lyste or Calendar of the Names, times and Causes of Comitment of all such Persons called Quakers as are remayning in any Gaol or Prison.'⁷⁴ The returns were submitted to the Lord Keeper on May 3, with instructions to report upon them to the Council. Five days later the report was considered by the Council with the result that the same day, May 8, an order appeared⁷⁵ promising pardon to all Quakers who were in prison for offences relating only to the king, and instructing the Attorney-General to prepare a pardon for all 'to whom his Majesty may legally grant the same.' Some difficulty arose concerning the fees to be paid before complete liberty could be gained by the 480 Quakers thus pardoned. They were so heavy as to be quite beyond the means of the prisoners, whose purses had already been lightened, if not completely drained, by the constant demands for fees by gaolers and others during their incarceration. According to the statement of John Rouse⁷⁶ the Attorney-General's fee was £5; the fee of his clerk, £2; Arlington's, £12 or £20; while 'Williamson's man' had to be satisfied. At this crisis the difficulty was partially solved by the offer on the part of some officials to remit their fees. The king too consented that the pardon, though comprehending a great number of persons, should 'pass as one pardon, and pay as one.'⁷⁷ Further, on the advice of the Quakers, other dissenters petitioned that their names might be inserted in the one general pardon.⁷⁸ Blood made the same suggestion to Arlington.⁷⁹ Thus the names of many dissenters were afterwards inserted in the general pardon granted to Quakers. John Bunyan, imprisoned in Bedford Gaol almost continuously for twelve years, got his release in May by this means. Sampson Larke, 'put out of the king's protection'

⁷² Whitehead, p. 350-1.

⁷³ C.S.P.D., 1671-2, p. 252.

⁷⁴ P.C.R., x, p. 207. Tanner MSS., 43, p. 1.

⁷⁵ C.S.P.D., 1671-2, p. 489.

⁷⁶ Bunyan's Works, iii, p. 23.

⁷⁷ Whitehead, p. 358.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.* p. 359.

⁷⁹ C.S.P.D., 1672, p. 45, P.C.R., x, p. 242.

in 1661, for refusing the oath of allegiance, owed his release after eleven years of misery to the Declaration.⁸⁰

Nonconformists were not permitted to enjoy their newly-found liberty in complete security. They were surrounded by enemies who were prevented from continuing their persecuting efforts only because they feared the displeasure of Charles. Many of the bishops and clergy made no attempt to conceal their bitter hostility. Informers, too, saw a lucrative profession slipping from their fingers if the penal laws were to remain in abeyance. All these were on the alert to catch Nonconformists transgressing, but they complained that they were severely handicapped by the vagueness and generality of the Declaration. 'We have lately seen in my parish and the neighbouring parts two women preachers⁸¹ Our justices are shy of meddling with them, though doubtless no way comprehended in his Majesty's declaration.' 'Many wish,' writes Sir Edward Lake,⁸² Chancellor of the diocese of Lincoln, 'there were an explanation of the Declaration, but that must be left to his Majesty's pleasure.' Some gave out that by the Declaration, Nonconformists were no longer amenable to the ecclesiastical courts, which at that time took cognizance of offences which are to-day tried in the civil courts. Thus, '26 April last, at the Archdeacon of Lincoln's visitation at Boston, John Wright of Fleet being legally questioned by Sir Edward Lake for begetting a bastard child, confessed the fact, and being enjoined the usual penance, pleaded that the Declaration tolerated that fact, and persists in the same'⁸³—certainly a most curious interpretation of the measure. Did the Declaration mean that fines for non-attendance at church or for holding or frequenting conventicles, imposed prior to March 15, should be remitted? The decision would involve numerous cases, and a tolerably large sum. One Nonconformist complained that he had been most shamefully treated. Before the Declaration appeared, he had been fined five guineas for attending a meeting, but the fine was not paid. On March 30, the constable and one of the churchwardens distrained goods to the value of eight pounds. 'I pleaded the king's declaration suspending the execution of the penal laws, but they said that old scores must be wiped off . . . I wish to know whether the declaration does not clear those who were fined before it was issued but

⁸⁰ 'Quarter Sessions,' p. 182.

⁸¹ C.S.P.D., 1672, p. 457.

⁸² *Ibid.* p. 536.

⁸³ C.S.P.D., 1672, p. 538.

the sentence not executed till after.⁸⁴ The answer to this appeal is not recorded. To us it is clear that if a special pardon were needed to open the prisons, fines could only be remitted in the same way. As it was, in this as in other doubtful points, justices interpreted the Declaration according to their sympathies, though always with a fear of informers on the one hand, or, on the other hand, of complaints by Nonconformists to the king and council.⁸⁵ Burnet tells of one Whately, a justice of Lincoln, who in contempt of the Declaration fined the worshippers at a licensed meeting-house; for which offence he was brought before the Council and reprimanded for 'this high contempt of his majesty's declaration. Lauderdale carried the matter very far: he said that the king's edicts were to be considered and obeyed as laws, and more than any other laws.'⁸⁶

Complaints, on the other hand, against Nonconformists who far exceeded the privileges granted them, were by no means infrequent. Unlicensed preachers were accused of holding large meetings of disaffected persons.⁸⁷ Sir Geoffrey Shakerley made it a subject of complaint that meetings were held at the very hour when divine service was going on in the church, and that the sacrament was administered, though not according to the liturgy.⁸⁸ The Governor of Guernsey informed the Council that great disturbances had occurred in the island through the abuse of the Declaration, and through the unwarrantable liberty which some dissenters pretended to derive from it, particularly naming the preachers Thomas Marchand, Charles de la Marche, and Daniel Perchard.⁸⁹ The Dean of Manchester, Nicholas Stratford, declared that Thomas Pike had obtained a licence for Blacklie Chapel by making two false statements: first, that the chapel had then no minister (which is more than probable), and secondly, that it was not consecrated, adding somewhat pathetically, 'But I suppose in a little time all the chapels, both in Lancashire and Cheshire, may be reckoned unconsecrated places.'⁹⁰ Alexander Davidson, vicar of Norham-upon-Tweed, petitioned the Council to take steps against Edward Orde, who had entered Cornhill Chapel, there to preach, baptize children, and perform other ministerial offices.⁹¹ But the most serious

⁸⁴ C.S.P.D., 1671-2, p. 269.

⁸⁵ P.C.R., x, p. 372. Western MSS., 28, 184, p. 240.

⁸⁶ Burnet, i, 603-4.

⁸⁷ P.C.R., x, p. 268.

⁸⁸ C.S.P.D., 1673, p. 300.

⁸⁹ P.C.R., x, p. 387.

⁹⁰ C.S.P.D., 1672-3, p. 504.

⁹¹ P.C.R. x, p. 268.

charge was made against John Jolly, ejected from Norbury Chapel, Cheshire, in 1662, and licensed in December, 1672, to preach at the house of Mr. Hyde of Norbury. Accused of being 'accessory to a riot, committed in breaking open Norbury Chappell,' and 'highly affronting his Majesty's Justices of Peace,' he was by the Council ordered to the Gatehouse, where he was detained two weeks, being released on the intercession of Lord Delamere and Lord Shaftesbury.⁹²

It was perhaps with a view to prevent such abuses that the Bishop of Lincoln demanded from Williamson⁹³ a list of all those licensed within his jurisdiction, and sought an explanation whether those who were licensed could preach in any place except the one named.⁹⁴ The poor bishop was in despair at the 'insolence and growth' of Nonconformists in his diocese. 'Both Presbyterians And Anabaptists with the Quakers are exceedingly increased: Insomuch that if there be not a sodaine stop put to their daring growth, I dread to write the Consequence'⁹⁵. 'The orthodox poor clergy are out of heart. Shall nothing be done to support them against the Presbyterians who grow and multiply faster than the other?'⁹⁶ A similar demand and the same complaint came from other parts of the kingdom. Sir Geoffrey Shakerley wrote from Chester Castle⁹⁷ that the spirits of Conformists were growing fainter daily, being almost overspread and lost in the foggy mists of the new licensed teachers. 'Their assemblies,' he complains, 'are already grown so full that our episcopal congregations look very thin. Therefore please let me know what number and who are licensed within this county, and how many licences each person has.'

The Bishop of Lincoln and Shakerley were both surpassed in zeal and activity by Carleton, Bishop of Bristol.⁹⁸ At Durham, of which county he was a justice, he ordered to the sessions one Wm. Pell because he had dared to preach on May 12 before he had received a licence, although the

⁹² P.C.R., x, pp. 396, 403. Calamy, 'Contin. and Acct.', Vol. ii, p. 124.

⁹³ C.S.P.D., 1672, p. 264.

⁹⁴ Apparently neither the bishop nor Sheldon had actually seen a licence, for the latter replied: 'You need not ask your Q. whether your fanatics may preach where they have no License. If they do the Decl. gives you Liberty and you may proceed as you think fit but the time is so short and the Parliament which we hear will meet that much cannot be done in these matters.' (Tanner MSS., 43, p. 26.)

⁹⁵ Tanner MSS., 43, p. 25.

⁹⁶ C.S.P.D., 1672, p. 589.

⁹⁷ C.S.P.D., 1672-3, p. 300.

⁹⁸ Oliver Heywood, 'Autobiog.', i, 308.

licence was issued from Whitehall on May 1.⁹⁹ The Nonconformists of Bristol quailed before the Bishop. 'Soon after his return from London,¹⁰⁰ instead of acting peaceably, he began to cite merchants of note and other Nonconformists to his Consistory Court for not attending church, and summoned the chief of the ministers to the Tolzey, where he attended with three of the junior clergy for informers. The Nonconformists, hearing that he said he would make the city too hot for them, sent Mr. Pawlet and Mr. Haggat to appear for them. They pleaded the Royal licences. One of the aldermen insinuated that these licences were fit for nothing but to introduce popery and countenance the breach of the laws. This was highly approved of by the Bishop, who added the licences were against the law. The Bishop and the Alderman urged the informers to use in their information the words of the Act, viz., "in other manner than," &c.,¹⁰¹ to which counsel excepted, saying they ought to swear to matter of fact, but the Alderman said they would have in those words, for they would not word informations to be laughed at. There was no bad conduct, though great numbers of Dissenters were present. Other informations have since been given, and how slender soever the evidence, the Bishop never rests till it is made strong enough for conviction, and never lets the Justices rest till warrants are signed for distresses which will ruin some men, as the heavy fines on the ministers have also to be paid by the hearers. The city magistrates much dislike being hurried on to oppress their peaceable neighbours, but the Bishop threatens them with penalties and the Parliament, so that the merchants fear the trade of the port will be much injured. These proceedings take up all the discourse, and business is forgotten. One informer mistook himself and swore falsely that Alexander Thomson, merchant, was at a meeting in the Castle, and has since summoned 190 persons of his parish before the Justices.'

Conforming clergy always had it in their power to harass Nonconformists by demanding from them church dues for the past few years. Dr. Hook, vicar of Halifax, after insisting peremptorily on seeing the licences of Oliver Heywood, requested the dues which Oliver had neglected to pay since 1661. Heywood offered him Easter reckonings for three years, but the vicar demanded and at last obtained the whole.¹⁰²

⁹⁹ C.S.P.D., 1672, p. 26.

¹⁰⁰ C.S.P.D., 1671-2, p. 430. C.S.P.D., 1672-3, p. 332.

¹⁰¹ The Act against Conventicles, 1670.

¹⁰² Oliver Heywood, 'Autobiog.', i, p. 346.

Thus for a brief period of twelve months the struggle went on, Nonconformists precariously enjoying their comparative freedom, their opponents for the most part jealously watching for opportunities to distress and annoy them. Roman Catholics, against whom all were conscious that it was to their interest to combine, were left, as usual, unmolested. Few Nonconformists paused to wonder what the end would be, although many were aware of the slender foundation upon which their indulgence rested. Of those that did give it a moment's consideration, some thought a severe tax would be imposed by parliament upon licensed persons and places. Pessimists feared a massacre, 'it being known where such people may be met with, as if they had but one neck.'¹⁰³

¹⁰³ P. Henry's Diaries, p. 253.

CHAPTER VI

THE WITHDRAWAL OF THE DECLARATION

FOR two years, by virtue of supplies received from the coffers of Louis XIV, and by the stop of the Exchequer, Charles had been able to dispense with parliament. At the end of that time his needs were as great as ever, and since these two sources of income could no longer be relied upon, Charles was compelled to summon parliament. The Catholic section of the Cabal was anxious to avoid, if possible, meeting parliament. Buckingham and Shaftesbury, on the other hand, perhaps because their motives had been purer, advised Charles to summon the national assembly. Lauderdale, the remaining member of the Cabal, only indirectly interested in English affairs, was guided solely by the personal wishes of the king. So to the great joy of Sheldon, parliament was summoned. The archbishop at once informed his bishops of the fact, at the same time insisting upon their personal attendance upon this 'more than ordinary occasion,' because he had great reason to believe that there was a necessity of 'raysiaing all the force we can make.'¹ The interest of the archbishop was concentrated upon one thing: he was determined at all costs to have an end put to this system of licensed indulgence. To the ordinary member of parliament there were, of course, two matters of supreme interest; the renewed struggle against Holland, and the late Declaration of Indulgence.² Neither was very popular with the nation as a whole; it was more than suspected that they were but branches of one and the same policy, viz., the overthrow of protestantism.³ Thoroughly conversant with the rumours that were freely circulating through the land, Charles was not unprepared for opposition. Consequently when he met parliament on February 5, 1673, he expressed his stern determination to pursue the policy he had adopted.

'Some few days before I declared war, I put forth my declaration for indulgence to dissenters: and have hitherto found a good effect of it, by securing peace at home, when I had war abroad. There is one part of it, that hath been

¹ Harleian MSS., 7,377, p. 39.

² Hatton Corres., i, 93.

³ C.S.P.D., 1671, p. 563.

subject to misconstruction; which is that concerning Papists, as if more liberty were granted them than to the other recusants, when it is plain there is less: for the others have public places allowed them; and I never intended that they [Roman Catholics] should have any, but only have the freedom of their religion in their own houses, without any concern of others: And I could not grant them less than this, when I had extended so much more grace to others, most of them having been loyal, and in the service of me and of the King, my father: And in the whole course of this indulgence, I do not intend that it shall any way prejudice the Church; but I will support its rights and it, in its full power.⁴ After assuring the assembled Houses that his intention was to preserve the Protestant religion and the Church of England as by law established, Charles concluded with this bold defiance: 'Having said this, I shall take it very ill to receive contradiction in what I have done. And I will deal plainly with you; I am resolved to stick to my Declaration.' Shaftesbury, Lord Chancellor since the preceding November, laid emphasis upon the king's explanation and protested once more against the doubts entertained concerning the religion of Charles. Had not his royal master resisted temptation when reduced to his lowest condition; did he not consider his restoration of the episcopal system as the greatest glory of his reign?

Charles and Shaftesbury were both quite sincere in the explanations they gave concerning the object of the Declaration, but their words did not carry conviction. It was quite true that Roman Catholics were given less liberty than other recusants, but that little appeared too much. Men feared, or pretended to fear, that the small wedge thus inserted was intended to wreck the established church and protestantism. Pamphleteers fanned the smouldering suspicions by representing the Declaration as an invention of the Pope and the devil, who at a late conference had agreed upon instructions to be sent to their emissaries in all parts of the world. 'If any recommend Liberty of Conscience, do you straight cry out against Persecution, and laugh not for a world; but remember you are yet awhile to play the Foxes and Wolves, in Sheeps Clothing.'⁵ The heir to the throne was a declared Roman Catholic: men had not ceased to talk

⁴ C. J., ix, 246.

⁵ 'Room for News or News from Rome being a Dialogue between the Pope and the Devil at a late Conference.' Stillingfleet in 1681 maintained that the declaration had been procured by Roman Catholics. See his 'Unreasonableness of Separation.'

about the horrors of the reign of 'Bloody' Mary, the plots against Elizabeth, the Gunpowder Plot, that

'horrible Plot on the fifth of November,
The very month preceding December,'

and the many Catholic intrigues. Still more fatal to the Declaration was the objection of constitutionalists. Could the king by proclamation suspend statutes passed by king and parliament? The parliaments of James I had opposed the king on this same question; the parliaments of Charles I had fought against such a use of the royal prerogative. Sancroft, sixteen years later, did not hesitate to assert the illegality of a declaration founded upon a dispensing power which could set aside all laws, ecclesiastical and civil. Legal authorities, indeed, could be produced to support Charles in his action. 'It is'—Bacon had maintained in his 'Elements of the Common Law'—'an inseparable prerogative of the crown' to dispense with politic statutes of a given kind.' Sir Edward Coke was equally explicit. 'No act of parliament can bind the King from any prerogative which is sole and inseparable to his person, but that he may dispense with it by a *non-obstante*.' Nevertheless, it was quite certain that such a power was incompatible with the free form of government for which the blood of Englishmen had been shed.

Passing over the questions of the war against Holland, the alliance with France, the necessity of supplies, the stop of the Exchequer, and the Cabal ministry, the Commons at once took into consideration that part of the king's speech which referred to the Declaration of Indulgence. For some days they debated upon the course of action which should be taken. At the request of members, not only was that part of the king's speech touching the Declaration re-read, but the votes of the Commons in 1662 and 1663, and the reasons then urged against toleration were produced and read.⁶ This request and the compliance with it were ominous. Opinion among the members appears to have been divided. Roughly speaking, there were three sections. Some there were, including Colonel Titus, Waller, Edward Seymour, Finch, and Birkenhead, who gave the Declaration their unqualified approval. Arguments old and new were brought forward. England, it was said, wanted nothing but persons who could eat and drink, no matter what their religion might be.⁷ Persecution had been allowed to hold sway far too long already; it was high time the king put a stop to it. Coke,

⁶ Grey's Debates, ii, p. 13.

⁷ Ibid. pp. 12-25.

'who was no friend to prerogative,' was quoted in support of suspending power. Indeed, they maintained, not only was such a power necessary for peace and good government, but nothing would afford greater gratification to their common enemy the Pope than for the Commons to assert that the king had no such jurisdiction. 'Our ancestors never did draw a line to circumscribe Prerogative and Liberty,' said Sir Wm. Coventry. These members were naturally in favour of allowing the Declaration to remain in force.

A large section, including Secretary Coventry, Howard, Musgrave, Maynard and Cheney, while approving of the movement towards toleration, and professing themselves convinced that the king had not intended to violate the laws, were yet prepared to make a stand for parliamentary legislation. Probably misled by his ministers, Charles, they said, had by the Declarations suspended no less than forty acts of parliament, some treason, some felony, banishment and fines. Although they might be confident that Charles had no sinister intentions, it behoved them to think of his probable successor. They concurred in the opinion that the matter could be easily remedied by an address to the king.

There were still a few members who were opposed to the Declaration both as an illegal exercise of royal prerogative and also as a measure of toleration. 'The King,' said one, 'cannot dispense with a man to be a Papist, or Nonconformist.⁸ No country in the world has such indulgence, except it has also a standing army. The King's ministers have done wrong, and by colour of the King's command to justify them. He counsels the King best who does it to maintain his laws.'

The court party, not sufficiently strong to fight successfully against this double opposition, had to acknowledge defeat. On February 10, it was resolved by 168 to 116, 'that penal statutes, in matters ecclesiastical, cannot be suspended but by Act of Parliament.'⁹ The resolution was inscribed on the journals of the House,¹⁰ and it was further decided to embody the resolution in an address to the king. 'The old Cavaliers,' writes Sir R. Verney, 'are as stout in this as the stoutest, and I may say forwarder than the forwardest.'¹¹ Yet it is worthy of notice that throughout the debate few ventured to oppose the principle of religious toleration: more, that those members that condemned the particular mode of granting toleration, laid the blame not upon Charles, but upon

⁸ Grey's Debates, ii, p. 17.

⁹ Grey's Debates, ii, p. 25.

¹⁰ C. J., ix, 251.

¹¹ Burnet, ii, p. 8 (note).

his detested ministers. The first is significant as indicative of the continued growth of more kindly feelings towards Protestant dissenters, and of the ease with which Conformists and Nonconformists could be brought to combine against a Roman Catholic domination. The latter fact would have some bearing upon the fate of the Declaration, inasmuch as the members of the Cabal would hesitate to cling tenaciously to it, knowing that they would probably be called to account.

While the Commons were thus engaged, the question was being discussed elsewhere. The very day when the Commons by their resolution gave the death-blow to the Declaration, Colbert informed Louis XIV that the king and his cabinet had been engaged upon matters of religion for some four hours on the previous day.¹² It was fully anticipated that the Commons would offer serious resistance, but Charles was determined to maintain the position he had taken up. Arlington was, apparently, already beginning to fear for the final result, for he ventured to prophesy that the session would not pass without much tribulation to the king and to his ministers.

The committee appointed by the Commons to frame the petition and address reported it ready on February 14. There had been several motions made in committee for an address to the king 'for ease of tender consciences,' but the committee had failed to agree. Therefore, Sir Thomas Lyttleton suggested that the address should be re-committed and a new committee appointed to draw up a bill for toleration.¹³ Lyttleton gained considerable support from members who objected to the Declaration merely on constitutional grounds. Others suggested that to the address a few words might be added to the effect that some attempt should be made towards uniting all Protestant subjects and thus fulfilling the promises made at Breda.¹⁴ Nevertheless, the petition passed as it stood, and was the same day, February 14, presented to his Majesty.¹⁵

' Most Gracious Sovereign

' We, your Majesty's most loyal and faithful subjects, the Commons assembled in Parliament, do, in the first place, as in all duty bound, return your Majesty our most humble and hearty thanks for the many gracious promises and assurances which your Majesty hath several times, during this present

¹² Christie's 'Shaftesbury,' Appendix V, p. xvii (note).

¹³ Grey, ii, p. 26.

¹⁴ Grey, ii, pp. 27-28.

¹⁵ C. J., ix, 252.

Parliament,¹⁶ given to us, that your Majesty would secure and maintain unto us, the true, reformed, Protestant religion, our liberties and properties: Which most gracious assurances, your Majesty hath, out of your great goodness, been pleased to renew unto us more particularly at the opening of this present session of Parliament.

‘And further we crave leave humbly to represent, that we have, with all duty and expedition, taken into our consideration several parts of your Majesty’s last speech to us, and withal the declaration therein mentioned for indulgence to Dissenters, dated the fifteenth of March last; and we find ourselves bound in duty to inform your Majesty, that penal statutes, in matters ecclesiastical, cannot be suspended, but by Act of Parliament.

‘We therefore, the Knights, Citizens and Burgesses of your Majesty’s House of Commons, do most humbly beseech your Majesty, that the said laws may have their free course, until it shall be otherwise provided for by Act of Parliament: and that your Majesty would graciously be pleased to give such directions herein, that no apprehensions or jealousies may remain in the hearts of your Majesty’s good and faithful subjects.’

Though the Commons had rejected the proposal to alter the address by inserting a statement of their intention to promote a bill to give relief to Protestant dissenters, there was a wide-spread feeling among the members that something ought to be done, some hope held out. ‘Possibly something in your address,’ said Sir Thomas Lee,¹⁷ ‘may startle those kind of people, the Dissenters.’ For twelve months they had worshipped freely in their licensed places, they had enjoyed the sweets of liberty, of which it was hardly politic, if just, to rob them without offering something in return, even although that liberty had been granted them by a means inconsistent with the constitutional rights of parliament. Hence, when the Commons had thus asserted their supreme authority, the question of toleration received attention. Much doubt appeared to exist now, as had been the case earlier, as to what was meant precisely by the well-worn phrase ‘tender conscience.’ Sir Nicholas Carew ironically suggested that even Jews, Turks, infidels and heretics might have consciences, which again might possibly be ‘tender.’¹⁸ Garroway suggested that in plain English it

¹⁶ This, the ‘Cavalier,’ ‘Long,’ or ‘Pensionary’ Parliament, sat from May, 1661, to January, 1679.

¹⁷ Grey, ii, p. 30.

¹⁸ Grey, ii, 30.

meant that Roman Catholics must be excluded.¹⁹ They might be given some ease, they might be favoured but 'not as trees to bear fruit, only as pillars to be seen, they giving no such liberty in any place of the world, they having inquisitions and persecutions.' In vain did Sir John Duncombe plead that they would do what was agreeable to charity; that they would not lay their foundations too narrow but let all have the benefit of indulgence.²⁰ Garroway had merely expressed what was a general sentiment. It was chiefly the fears of popery that made them zealous in the question,²¹ declared a member who went on to warn them lest while they disputed the toleration of Protestants the third dog should come up and take away the bone.

Almost alone among the members, Waller and Sir Robert Carr ventured to support the claims of Roman Catholics to toleration, the former because he had a sense of kindness for all that suffered, the latter on the grounds that whereas Roman Catholics had fought and schemed for the reigning dynasty in the time of trouble, other Nonconformists had either been in opposition or had held gloomily aloof.²² It was in itself a powerful argument, and one frequently in the mouth of Charles II, but it entirely failed to overcome a too-deeply rooted prejudice. It was unanimously resolved 'that a bill be brought in for the ease of his Majesty's Protestant subjects that are dissenters in matters of religion from the Church of England.' The question being put that the concurrence of the House of Lords should be desired, it was defeated. This resolution of the Commons, passed without opposition, is interesting as illustrating the advance of liberal ideas, first distinctly noticeable in the debates of 1670. It was the first time since 1660 that the Commons had initiated, or even countenanced, any measure for the relief of Nonconformists. Hitherto, all motions for toleration had come from the peers. It is also worthy of notice that the idea of 'union' and comprehension was to some extent revived. During the debate many members dwelt upon it as a thing not only to be desired, but also as a possibility. Nor was the idea confined

¹⁹ Grey, ii, p. 321.

²⁰ *Ibid.* p. 31.

²¹ Cf. Verney Memoirs, iv, 200. Sir Ralph wants 'to comprehend soe many Dissenters as possible in a Toleration Act.' He writes to Mun; 'We had need to take in all manner of Protestants, against our comon Adversary of Rome, and all little enough I assure you. I will now make you a present of 2 excellent Bookes, Dr. Tillotsons Sermon before the King, and a Seasonable Discourse, for establishing our Religion, in Opposition to Popery.'

²² Grey, ii, p. 33-35.

to parliament. At the very time when the Declaration was in full force, writers had advocated an attempt to draw Presbyterians at least into the Church of England. 'And all people being now satisfied,' one writes, 'that the Church of England by Episcopacy is to be the standing government, being established by Parliament, and owned so in his Majesties late Declaration for Liberty, if there be once a further comprehension of the Presbyterians in and according to that Government; all other parties will soon be quiet as too small to stand in computation on the one hand, and on the other hand the Church being thus regulated will bring the rest dayly also, so that some small regulation and abatement of the very same Church-discipline we have already, will work the desired effect. And as for the other dissenters they may have all the same connivance and indulgence they have at present, but no legal liberty; for legal allowance will make them impudent, and endeavour to encrease, whereas otherwise they will be humble and cautious.'²³

On February 19th, while the Commons were still awaiting the king's reply to their petition and address, the debate on the vote to grant ease to Protestant dissenters was continued in grand committee. Having got thus far, Birkenhead proposed that dissenters should be consulted as to amount of liberty which should be given.²⁴ The Commons were hardly likely to agree to the proposal, but in any case it was necessary first to decide what should constitute the test to be imposed upon those desiring indulgence. The thirty-nine articles were suggested as the test, apparently by a member who desired to wreck the scheme. Much more reasonable was the final decision 'that ease should be given to his Majesty's Protestant subjects that will subscribe to the doctrine of the Church of England, and will take the oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy.' The effect would be to include Presbyterians and Independents, with some Baptists.²⁵

Nearly all were agreed as to the advisability of toleration,

²³ 'The Ground of Unity in Religion, or an Expedient for a General Conformity and Pacification,' 1672. See also 'An Expedient or a sure and easy way of Reducing all Dissenters whatsoever to an exact and sincere Obedience both to our Ecclesiastical and Civil Government,' 1672. There it is stated that Presbyterians are rich and have on their side the corporations and all 'formal' men, whom they are pleased to call the sober part of the nation. The 'Independents or Phanatiques' are artisans and the meanest in the land, but their crafts and trades are of great value to the nation. Moreover, let the government do what it will, it cannot make them much poorer, so that in three months they will recover and be as they were.

²⁴ Grey, ii, p. 38.

²⁵ Ibid. ii, p. 40.

but all had their own ideas as to its particular form. Time was wasted in discussing points which need not have been introduced. Thus, Sir Thomas Lee wanted to know on what terms Nonconformists might be made capable of preferment in the Established Church—a question settled for all time at the Savoy Conference and by the Act of Uniformity. Alderinan Love, the Presbyterian member of London whose election had been the occasion of such boisterous scenes, ‘confessed he had no kindness for them that desired so immodest a thing as preferment in the Church, unless they were conformable to its laws.’²⁶ Nonconformists, he said, desired neither preferment nor exemption from chargeable offices, except that of churchwarden, for refusing which they were willing to pay the usual fines. All they wanted was permission from the magistrates to hold, with open doors, meetings for divine worship.²⁷

So the wearisome proceedings dragged on. The same ground was trodden again and again; the same commonplace remarks, not even clothed with new expression, were reiterated. The merits of temporary and permanent indulgence were weighed and contrasted. Things that had been imposed since 1660, the penal statutes and ‘assent and consent,’ were reviewed, and upheld or condemned. Nay, that old bone of contention, the Covenant, was resurrected.²⁸ It was proposed that renunciation of the Covenant, required by the Act of Uniformity, should cease to be a test. The Covenant had ceased to have any force: no good man, said Sir Thomas Osborne, thought himself still under obligation to it, but Colonel Strangeways was only expressing the feelings of the greater part of the Cavalier parliament when he remarked that no man could ever be admitted to the Established Church unless he renounced not merely with his lips, but in his heart, the ‘odious’ Covenant.

The Commons had not yet received an answer to the address and petition presented to Charles on February 14, although a week had passed. Their patience being almost exhausted, Sir J. Hotham moved ‘that his Majesty be desired to return a speedy answer to the last Address of this House,’ a motion that gave rise to a heated debate between Sir Thomas Meres and Sir William Coventry.²⁹ The king had indeed hesitated before answering this address of the

²⁶ Grey, ii, 40.

²⁷ This speech of Love has been used not infrequently to warrant the assertion that Nonconformists repudiated the Declaration of Indulgence.

²⁸ *Ibid.* pp. 42-45.

²⁹ Grey, ii, p. 48.

Commons which showed all too plainly their determination that the Declaration should be annulled. He was at a loss to know what answer to give to this direct challenge of his right to interfere with statutes passed by the king in parliament. It was Charles's nature to bend before determined opposition, to give way rather than to put himself to personal exertion and trouble. In this case he probably sought the advice of his Cabal. Shaftesbury, Buckingham and Lauderdale, from motives more or less pure, advised Charles to refuse to revoke the Declaration, even if it involved the dissolution of parliament.³⁰ Arlington alone proposed that the king should give way before the opposition of the Commons. When impeached in 1675, he gave his own account of his attitude at this crisis.³¹ 'As soon as I was convinced that it was contrary to law, I was the first man that advised to desist from what was not tenable by law.' More probably he was aware that rumours of an agreement with Louis XIV were spreading abroad, and he felt upon his conscience the weight of responsibility incurred by signing the Treaty of Dover. Charles neither revoked the Declaration nor dissolved parliament. The latter he could not well do seeing that no supplies had yet been granted. The former he was unwilling to do while there remained a hope that the Commons might be pacified. To achieve this end he sent, on February 24, a cleverly written reply, professing once more his loyalty to the best interests of the Church of England, and his consideration for the privileges of parliament. Informed no doubt by the court party that the Commons were engaged upon a bill for toleration, he protested that he had done nothing more than they were willing to do :

' His Majesty hath received an address from you: and he hath seriously considered of it; and returneth you this answer :³²

' That he is very much troubled that that declaration, which he put out for ends so necessary to the quiet of his Kingdom, and especially in that conjuncture, should have proved the cause of disquiet in his House of Commons, and given occasion to the questioning of his power in Ecclesiastics: which he finds not done in the reigns of any of his ancestors. He is sure he never thought of using it otherwisc than as it hath been intrusted in him, to the peace and establishment of the Church of England, and the ease of all

³⁰ Christie's 'Shaftesbury,' ii, p. 134.

³¹ Parliamentary History, iv, p. 651.

³² C. J., ix, p. 256.

his subjects in general: neither doth he pretend to the right of suspending any laws, wherein the properties, rights or liberties of any of his subjects are concerned; nor to alter anything in the established doctrine or discipline of the Church of England: but his only design in this was to take off the penalties the statutes might inflict upon Dissenters; and which he believes, when well considered of, you yourselves would not wish executed according to the rigour and letter of the law. Neither hath he done this with any thought of avoiding or precluding the advice of his parliament: and if any bill shall be offered him, which shall appear more proper to attain the aforesaid ends, and secure the peace of the Church and Kingdom, when tendered in due manner to him, he will show how readily he will concur in all ways that shall appear good for the Kingdom.'

The same day, the lords of the Council sent precisely the same answer to the justices of Lancashire, who had apparently made a protest against the Declaration of Indulgence in terms similar to those used by the Commons.³³

The king's carefully worded message, intended to have a soothing effect upon the excited temper of the Commons, signally failed in its purpose. It was not without debate that they relented so far as to vote the thanks of the House to the king—a mere matter of form. Three times the message was read before the members fully grasped its import, but when at last they did, they proceeded to attack it in detail. 'It seems,' said Sir Thomas Meres,³⁴ 'here is a distinction made in the King's power in "ecclesiastical" and "Temporal" matters. Those of the Long Robe did declare they knew no such difference . . . In the King's message he says "An Act of Parliament may do it more properly" which implies it may be done by the Declaration.' The few supporters of the king, unable to defend the theory of prerogative involved, fell back on the motives which had influenced the king.³⁵ He designed nothing but taking off penalties, not the dispensing with laws, and if the Commons would remove the penalties by an act, the king would willingly recall the Declaration. Or again, the king was compelled by necessity to dispense with certain statutes, and having the power of peace and war, he surely had the power to do things in order to preserve peace.³⁶ It was in attacking this plea of necessity, that Powle reminded the House of a certain king of

³³ H.M.C.R., Kenyon MSS., p. 95.

³⁴ Grey, ii, p. 56.

³⁵ Ibid., p. 57.

³⁶ Ibid. p. 58.

France who, when requested by the states of Normandy not to raise any more taxes except with their consent, promised not to do so except upon necessity. The necessity had remained ever since. 'Shall we then rest in a doubtful and ambiguous answer where our rights and liberties are concerned.'³⁷

The following day, February 25, a committee was appointed for the purpose of framing a suitable reply to Charles. On February 26, when the committee reported, a keen discussion upon the text of the message took place. Many thought that some of the phrases were perhaps objectionable, especially those referring to the king's assumption of the power of suspending and dispensing, and those suggesting that Charles had been misinformed as to his rights. Others took exception to the use of the word 'unanimous,' because strictly speaking it was not true. By a large majority the text as it stood was adopted, the reply being forwarded to Charles that day.³⁸

'Most Gracious Sovereign,

'We your Majesty's most humble and loyal subjects, the knights, citizens and burgesses, in this present parliament assembled, do render to your sacred Majesty our most dutiful thanks, for that, to our unspeakable comfort, Your Majesty hath been pleased so often to reiterate unto us those gracious promises and assurances of maintaining the religion now established, and the liberties and properties of your people: and we do not in the least measure doubt, but that your Majesty had the same gracious intentions, in giving satisfaction to your subjects, by your answer to our last petition and address: Yet upon a serious consideration thereof, we find that the said answer is not sufficient to clear the apprehensions that may justly remain in the minds of your people, by your Majesty's having claimed a power to suspend penal statutes in Matters ecclesiastical; and which your Majesty does still seem to assert in the said answer, to be intrusted in the Crown, and never questioned in the reigns of any of your ancestors: wherein we humbly conceive, your Majesty hath been very much misinformed; since no such power was ever claimed or exercised by any of your Majesty's predecessors: and if it should be admitted, might tend to the interrupting of the free course of the laws, and altering the legislative power, which hath always been acknowledged to reside in your Majesty and your two Houses of Parliament.

³⁷ Ibid. p. 60.

³⁸ C. J., ix, p. 257.

'We do therefore, with an unanimous consent, become again most humble suitors unto your sacred Majesty, that you would be pleased to give us a full and satisfactory answer to our said petition and address: and that your Majesty would take such effectual order, that the proceedings in this matter may not, in future, be called into consequence or example.'

Unlike his father and his brother, Charles II could recognise revolution in the making. Unlike them, also, he had no deep convictions of any kind, religious or political. Upon one point he was determined: he would never set out again upon his travels if he could possibly escape doing so. His character calls forth no admiration, but at least it saved him from the disasters which overwhelmed Charles I and James II. In this case he knew that further remonstrance to the Commons would be worse than useless. Indeed, had he but known, he had already gone further than was wise. Unwilling yet to acknowledge defeat, he sought the advice of his cabinet. The accounts of this council are somewhat conflicting. Burnet's version, coloured perhaps by personal animosities, reveals three members of the Cabal deliberately plotting against the state.³⁹ Buckingham advised that the army should be brought within striking distance of London, that refractory members should be expelled from both houses of parliament, and that the conduct of affairs be entrusted to those favourable to the crown. Lauderdale, who had in 1663 raised in Scotland an army of 22,000 men, pledged to march whither the king should direct, mooted the possibility of marching this army across the borders, seizing Newcastle, and thus intimidating parliament into submission. According to Burnet, Clifford also urged the king to persevere: the people could already see through his designs, so that he must make himself master at once or be henceforth subject to suspicion and contempt. Charles himself, too indolent and with too much tact to act upon advice so reckless, inclined to the advice of Shaftesbury and Arlington that parliament should be appeased. Such is the account given by Burnet.

Stringer, in his 'Memoir of the Earl of Shaftesbury,' agrees with Burnet in asserting that a proposal was made to dissolve or prorogue parliament.⁴⁰ He represents Clifford as suggesting that the king should appeal to the House of Lords, where the influence of the crown was sufficiently great to guarantee the success of a resolution in support of the Declaration. This would probably cause a difference between

³⁹ Burnet, ii, p. 11.

⁴⁰ Christie's 'Shaftesbury,' Appendix, iii, pp. xxix-xxx.

the two Houses, under colour of which Charles could dissolve parliament. The Cabal, with the exception of Shaftesbury, received Clifford's proposal with great warmth. The latter, though making no protest, was convinced that the bishops and the court party would ruin this brilliant scheme.

That such a proposal was made is placed beyond doubt by succeeding events. The proposal, however, in all probability, came not from Clifford but from Shaftesbury. To this opinion weight is added by the presence, among the manuscripts at St. Giles, of a paper containing reasons for referring the Declaration of Indulgence to the House of Lords.⁴¹ This paper Christie judges to contain the substance of Shaftesbury's advice to the king upon this occasion. 'It ought to be presumed,' writes Shaftesbury, 'that his Majesty would have not have declared so solemnly to the world⁴² his resolution to adhere to his Declaration for Indulgence, had not his judgment been convinced that his royal prerogative justly and legally might dispense with such laws for the public safety.'

'Now, since the House of Commons have by their vote declared their opinion of the illegality of such a dispensation, what can they in such circumstances reasonably expect from his Majesty? Shall he who is in possession immediately deliver up his right before the matter in contest is brought to a fair trial in any Court of Judicature? And if his Majesty in consideration of their vote should graciously descend to have his title tried in the supremest Court of his realm, assisted by all the Judges of the land, is it not all they can with modesty hope from the most just and benign Prince in the world?

'We know this House of Commons is composed of persons of too much reason and equity to arrogate to themselves a power of declaring matters of law, and much less to prejudge their sovereign. We ought therefore to suppose that their humble and pressing desire that his Majesty should immediately revoke his Declaration, springs from some misrepresentation of his Majesty's present judgment and persuasion in this matter, as if, since his late solemn declaring his mind in this point, he had altered his opinion as to the legality of his first proceeding.

'But this mistake being removed and his Majesty again declaring that no reasons have yet been offered that should make him recede from his first deliberation in this matter,

⁴¹ Christie's 'Shaftesbury,' ii, pp. 132-4.

⁴² In his speech from the throne at the opening of this session of Parliament, February 5, 1673.

who can doubt that his dutiful House of Commons, with all submission and thankfulness, will accept of his Majesty's most indulgent condescension to have this branch of his prerogative legally examined and tried in his House of Peers?

' This possibly may be a proper expedient at this time :

' 1. Because it has so much justice and moderation in it, that it must needs produce a general satisfaction as to his Majesty's proceeding.

' 2. It puts by the present thrust, and his Majesty keeps himself still in guard, and is not forced to lay himself open either by a downright denial or by a present retraction.

' 3. It gives time to the supply to grow up and be perfected before the matter of prerogative can come to a legal and final decision.

' 4. It brings his Majesty's cause into a Court which has been slighted by the other party.'

There seems to be no reason to doubt the authenticity of this document. If it really represents Shaftesbury's advice to Charles, it was worthy of the man—clever, cautious, even crafty. Charles, he knew, could not afford to dissolve parliament until the vote for supplies had passed. To bridge over that time, Shaftesbury proposed to involve the two Houses in a conflict concerning the privilege of either body. This he would accomplish by trading upon the fact that the Commons had neglected to seek the co-operation of the Lords in their first petition and address against the use of the dispensing power.

Nothing loth to adopt an easy way out of a difficulty, Charles, on March 1, thus complained to the Lords of the factious conduct of the Commons :⁴³

' My Lords,

' You know that at the Opening of this Session, I spake here to your Satisfaction : It hath, notwithstanding, begotten a greater Disquiet in the Houses of Commons, than I could have imagined. I received an Address from them which I looked not for ; and I made them an Answer that ought to have contented them : But on the contrary, they have made Me a Reply of such a Nature, that I cannot think fit to proceed any further in this Matter without your Advice.

' I have commanded the Chancellor to acquaint you with all the Transaction, wherein you will find both Me and yourselves highly concerned. I am sensible for what relates to Me ; and I assure you, my Lords, I am not less so for your Privileges and the Honour of this House.'

⁴³ L. J., xii, p. 539.

Having made this astute appeal, Charles continued to grace the proceedings of the Upper House with his presence, no doubt with the purpose of influencing their decisions.

The prospect was not very encouraging. Sheldon, because he had 'great reason to believe that there is a necessity of raying all the force we can make,' had refused to excuse the absence of any bishop from this session of parliament. From this quarter Charles would get no support. High Anglicans would vote with the bishops. The hatred of the Cabal and the sinister rumours afloat would have their effect. Consequently, the Lord Chancellor (Shaftesbury) was leading a forlorn hope when he read to the House the correspondence which had passed betwen the king and the Commons, at the same time informing the peers 'how the King was surprised with the first address and much more with the second.'⁴⁴ Upon the usual address of thanks being voted, Charles took occasion to make a further appeal for support against the Commons. 'I take this address of yours very kindly, and will always be very affectionate to you, and I expect that you shall stand by me, as I always will by you.' The Lords showed no great desire to enter into an alliance with the sovereign for the mutual defence of their so-called rights and privileges. On March 4, they passed a resolution⁴⁵ that 'the King's answer to the House of Commons, in referring the points now controverted to a Parliamentary way by Bill, is good and gracious, that being a proper and natural course for satisfaction.' That is to say, in a half-hearted manner, they emphasised the opinion expressed by the Commons, that penal statutes, whether in ecclesiastical or temporal affairs, might be altered or suspended only by the king in parliament. Certainly they refrained from expressing themselves in favour of the Declaration. It is true the resolution was not unanimous: before the question was put, several lords desired leave to enter their dissent.⁴⁶

The king had asked the Lords for advice, incidentally warning them that their privileges had been touched. To formulate a bill of advice and to investigate the question of privilege, a committee, with Shaftesbury as chairman, was appointed on March 5.⁴⁷ After two days' discussion the committee expressed themselves satisfied that there had been no breach in the privileges of the House. This was a second blow at the delicate scheme raised by the Cabal upon so

⁴⁴ H.M.C.R., ix, Part ii, p. 25.

⁴⁵ L. J., xii, p. 543.

⁴⁶ H.M.C.R., ix, Part ii, p. 25.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*

slender a foundation. Failure stared the ministry in the face unless fresh means could be found to prop their tottering fabric. Clifford—who first appeared in humble guise, was thought so meek, so modest, and so wise⁴⁸—was ready. His idea was by no means original: Robartes had tried the same plan in 1663, only to fail. Still, there was no Clarendon now to lead the opposition. Clifford's plan was simply this—to secure to Charles, by act of parliament, power to suspend the operation of penal statutes in matters ecclesiastical at any time when parliament was not sitting, provided that, except in great emergencies, the particular statutes to be dispensed with were named in the declaration.⁴⁹ There was no hope of passing such a bill through both houses of parliament. Had it been possible, it was far from being desirable. Nothing further, however, was heard of Clifford's proposed bill, but on March 7, the Earl of Anglesey offered to the consideration of the committee some 'heads in writing,' which were eventually embodied in the following bill of advice to the king:⁵⁰

'The King's most excellent Majesty, taking into consideration that some jealousies and apprehensions have arisen upon his late Declaration of March 15, 1671, (whereby he did suspend the penal laws in ecclesiastical matters), lest the exercise of such a power might be inconvenient in many respects, and being desirous to secure his good subjects of his gracious intentions by the said Declaration in maintenance of the Protestant Religion, etc., and to allay the least apprehensions that may remain in the minds of his loyal subjects as to the extent or danger of that power, is contented, and it is his will and pleasure that it be enacted, and be it enacted by the King our Sovereign Lord, &c., that as he never did, or pretend to, suspend or dispense with any laws for the establishment of the religion or discipline of the Church of England, or relating to the property or liberties of the subject, so for the future he shall not nor may not suspend or dispense with penal laws in matters ecclesiastical. And for the full and clear satisfaction to all his good subjects, now that he can have the advice of his two Houses of Parliament therein, which he declares he hath always delighted to be assisted by, and [which] is a way unquestionable, His Majesty is further pleased that it be enacted, and be it enacted, that, according to the advice and consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal and Commons in Parliament assembled, the laws and statutes following only be suspended from execution

⁴⁸ Marvel, 'Advice to a Painter,' 1, 57.

⁴⁹ H.M.C.R., ix, Part ii, p. 25.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

for the space of five years; and that all other laws and statutes made in ecclesiastical affairs be indispensably put in execution; this Act, the said Declaration, or any other Act, Statute, matter or thing to the contrary notwithstanding.'

Had this 'advice' ever reached Charles, his feelings would surely have been bitter. Here was his court of appeal, whose help and favour he had stooped to solicit, virtually deciding against him. But he did not wait for the advice; the force of circumstances proved too much for him. On March 7, he had received a joint address from both Houses,⁵¹ desiring him, in the interests of his own personal safety and to safeguard the tranquility of the kingdom, to issue a royal proclamation commanding all Jesuits, except those who were native-born or attendant upon the Queen Consort, to leave the kingdom within thirty days: ordering all judges, justices of the peace, mayors, bailiffs and other officers, strictly to enforce the laws against such as remained in England; and bidding the judge-advocate and commissaries of the muster to tender the oaths of allegiance and supremacy to all soldiers and officers⁵² in the service and pay of the king. The Cabal also was beginning to show signs of dissolution. That excellent political barometer, Shaftesbury, was veering round from the court to the country party. Arlington was continually urging Charles to give way. The mistresses of the monarch, fearing that their pensions might not be forthcoming, were using their influence towards the same end. Louis, hearing that Charles in his despair was going to dissolve parliament and, what was worse, was about to make peace with Holland, ordered Colbert to entreat Charles to drop the measure.⁵³ More than all, Charles wanted his supplies.⁵⁴ On the evening of March 7, 1673, in order to remove the cause of friction, he cancelled the Declaration, and a week later broke the seal with his own hand.⁵⁵ On March 8, parliament was informed that the Declaration was no more. In the House of Lords, Charles faithfully promised that, while he hoped all their scruples had now vanished, this attempt at suspension of penal statutes should not for the future be drawn into consequence or example. He trusted there would be no further cause of difference; for his part, there should never be any occasion.⁵⁶

⁵¹ C. J., ix, p. 261.

⁵² The Lords, in the interests of James, D. of York, attempted unsuccessfully to insert 'land' before 'soldiers and officers.'

⁵³ Dalrymple, ii, p. 93.

⁵⁴ See his address to Lords and Commons. C. J., ix, 265.

⁵⁵ C.S.P.D., 1673, p. 24.

⁵⁶ H.M.C.R., Portland MSS., iii, p. 315.

'We are extricated from a very perilous measure,' wrote Colbert to M. de Pomponne, 'and the King of England will in a short while be able to make his enemies tremble. The promptitude with which his Majesty (Louis XIV) has made his sentiments known to me has not a little contributed to this result, and I cannot refrain from saying in the words of Cicero to Brutus, "Non ignoras quanta momenta sint in republica temporum et quid intersit idem illud, utrum ante post decernatur, suscipiatur, agatur."⁵⁷ To his royal master he wrote a congratulatory letter informing him that 'never could any counsel be better received, more punctually followed, nor produce better and more immediate results, than that which your Majesty has given to the King of England.'⁵⁸ Colbert exaggerates both the influence of Louis and the danger from which Charles was extricated. Had Louis taken no notice of Colbert's reports, the result must have been the same. Had the ruler of England been a man who dared to

'put it to the touch,
To gain or lose it all,'

the issue might have been different. But since that ruler was Charles II, ever known to take the easiest course, resolved never again to leave England, it was safe to predict that matters would never be pushed to extremities. His measure had failed, as it was bound to fail. He had under-estimated the strength of the feeling against Roman Catholicism, and against the exercise by the king of his so-called 'prerogative.' Said James Harrington, the republican philosopher, on the eve of the Restoration: 'Let the King come in and call a Parliament of the greatest Cavaliers in England, so they be men of estates, and let them sit but seven years and they will all turn Commonwealth's men.'⁵⁹ The prophecy was so far fulfilled that the 'Cavalier' parliament Charles II had adopted many of the political theories bequeathed by the 'Parliamentarians' of the previous generation. To the Commons the Constitutional aspect of the Declaration appealed most strongly. Thus had Charles confined the benefits of his indulgence to Protestant Nonconformists, the measure must still have been challenged. Only for one purpose is it conceivable that the king would have been allowed to exercise the rights he claimed. Little or no

⁵⁷ Christie's 'Shaftesbury,' ii, p. 135.

⁵⁸ Dalrymple, ii, p. 95.

⁵⁹ Aubrey's 'Lives,' Ed. Clarke, i, p. 291.

objection would have been raised had he issued a proclamation increasing the severity of the laws against Roman Catholics.

The king had done what might have been expected. North, in his 'Examen,'⁶⁰ moved by party spirit and by no means impartial, endeavours to show that no other course was possible. 'Let us suppose,' he writes, 'the King had adhered to his Parole in his Speech to the Parliament in 1671'⁶¹ that he would stick to his Declaration (of Indulgence) and refused to give Satisfaction, what had been the consequence? Matters had gone to extremity, and the Parliament must have been broke: For Votes had run high, Impeachments⁶² carried up, the House of Peers divided, Pardons granted and (as afterwards in Danby's Case) disputed, the Nation alarmed, Pulpits and Conventicles influencing, Faction blowing the Coals, and the Ministry, all the while, treacherous in Council and rampant in Behaviour: In a Word, such Storms as the King neither could nor would have born, but he must either yield or break. Supposing the Parliament to have rose in such an ill Temper, the King had been at Sea with a Tempest about his Ears; Force would have failed, the War craving, and Losses frequent, Revenues not answer, Exactions violent, and, perhaps, violently resisted The Loyalists had been sullen and passive, the Sectaries flattering and deceitful; but the greatest danger of all and, perhaps, that which was most aimed at, was the King's throwing himself upon them, who, at the same time, were purveying of active force to master him, and then he had been finished as his father was.'

For the third time Charles II had been baffled by the Commons. Still what they refused to sanction when done unconstitutionally they were prepared to grant by act of parliament. We have seen that, while waiting for the king's answer to their first protest, the Commons had been engaged upon a bill for the relief of Protestant dissenters. By February 27, they had prescribed the limits of the bill.⁶³ It was resolved that ease should be given to his Majesty's Protestant subjects, dissenters in matters of religion, who should subscribe the articles of the doctrine of the Church of England, and should take the oaths of allegiance and supremacy: that the said Protestant subjects should be eased from all pains and penalties for not going to church: that

⁶⁰ 'Examen,' pp. 44-5.

⁶¹ 1673.

⁶² No impeachments were 'carried up' till January, 1674.

⁶³ C. J., ix, p. 259.

the clause in the late Act of Uniformity for declaring 'assent and consent' should be taken away by this bill: that the said Protestant subjects should be eased from all pains and penalties for meeting together for the performance of any religious exercises: that every teacher should first give notice at the respective quarter sessions of the place where he intended to hold his meetings, and there in open court he should also make the necessary subscription and take the prescribed oaths: that every such teacher should be allowed to exercise his ministry until the next quarter sessions, and no longer, unless he took the oaths before two of the neighbouring justices of the peace: that the bill should continue in force only for one year, and from thence to the end of the next session of parliament; that a bill should be brought in upon the above resolutions and heads.

The bill introduced to give effect to these resolutions was a very fair attempt to solve this standing difficulty. Many Protestant dissenters were willing to subscribe to the doctrinal articles of the Church of England. This had been the basis of the proposed settlement in 1668. Some few might perhaps be persuaded to give in their allegiance to the Established Church if the 'assent and consent' clause of the Act of Uniformity were abolished. It had, at all events, proved a stumbling-block in all attempts at comprehension. The operation of the bill was to be limited to something more than a year, probably as a safeguard: were it not to prove beneficial, it could simply be dropped. Had the king's declaration resulted in the passing of such a bill, there would have been sufficient cause for gratulation.

Informing a correspondent of all that was passing at Westminster, John Hobart, a member of this parliament, writes:⁶⁴ 'I am glad that the Bill for Ease, &c., hath so clear a passage, and though I presume not to direct, yet I cannot but heartily wish that it may, as to the manner, be by opening our Armes as wide as charity and prudence will give leave to receive into Comunion all sober dissenters and incorporate them with us which seemes to me to have these three great advantages above the way of the late Indulgence or universal Toleration. 1: It will establish the Government of the Church. 2: It will strengthen us mightily against the Comon Enemy, and 3: It will be a fayre way to prevent any seeming Contradiction between the House of Comons former votes upon his Majesties Declaration concerning Ecclesiasticall affayres in 1660 and theyr present proceedings in the Bill of Ease.' Unfortunately there was neither the time nor the

⁶⁴ Tanner MSS., 43, p. 179.

unanimity necessary to bring the bill to a successful end.

The Bill for Indulgence is now with the Lordes,⁶⁵ where it sticks hard, And is likely to returne with a new face, but whether for the better, or the worse, a few dayes will determine, but I fear eyther by accident or otherwise it's so alter'd, That considering the shortness of our setting, and the great alterations, that it will meet with a great debate if not a frustration.' Not by accident, but by design, the Lords insisted upon amendments calculated to ruin the bill. The most fatal amendment virtually proposed to give the king the dispensing and suspending powers against the exercise of which the Commons had so successfully protested. The king was to be given the right 'to issue out proclamations, if he saw cause, either of liberty or restraint.'⁶⁶ The Lords knew that the Commons would never accept the amendment: they 'would agree as soon to lose the bill as have this clause.' They protested that it was without precedent, and might be of ill consequence, 'to put a power any where out of Parliament, whether a law should take its effect or no.'⁶⁷ The bill was lost: the day of prorogation arrived, but with it no agreement, both Houses remaining stubborn. 'All their (Dissenters) hopes are disappointed: So that there is neyther hedge nor pale to defend them from the penaltyes of the Law. And what can be set up under the present cercumstances in favour to them can hardly be imagined.'⁶⁸

The failure of the bill is generally attributed to the efforts of the bishops and of the court party. The bishops certainly rejoiced that it failed. 'I hope the Bill for Indulgence is at an end for this time,' wrote the Archbishop of York, 'and that it will never proceed so far again, if it begin anew.'⁶⁹ Sheldon congratulated himself⁷⁰ that parliament had done nothing to the prejudice of the Church. The Bishop of Winchester was 'very glad in the meantime that the aforesayd Bill miscarried, which would have bin an establishment of schisme by a Law, and that would have bin much woorse than any Connivence nay then any toleration can be by the king's dispensation or declaration only.'⁷¹ The king, still clinging to his old policy, did not wish the bill to pass, for it would have put an end to the dependence upon himself of Protestant Nonconformists.

⁶⁵ Tanner MSS., 42, p. 1.

⁶⁶ L. J., xii, 579-580. C. J., ix, 270-280.

⁶⁷ Grey, ii, p. 163.

⁶⁸ Tanner MSS., 42, p. 2.

⁶⁹ Tanner, 42, p. 46.

⁷⁰ Harleian MSS., 7,377, p. 44.

⁷¹ Tanner MSS., 42, p. 7.

If the court scored this triumph, it had also to acknowledge signal defeat. Largely as a result of the Declaration a bill had been introduced to deprive of all offices and commands those who refused to take the sacrament according to the rites of the Church of England. Principally aimed at Roman Catholics, it was exceedingly popular in the country. 'My Lord Duke of Buckingham is returned from Yorkshire, where he has been making new recruits to his regiment, and it's said that, so jealous were the commonalty there of Popery, that not a man scarce would come out unto his Grace, 'till he had gone and publickly with his officers took the Sacrament at York.'⁷² In the Commons the bill was read three times with very little opposition, while its passage through the Lords was rendered easy by the active support of Arlington and Shaftesbury. Indeed, it was a political rather than a religious measure. Arlington and Shaftesbury both wanted to oust Clifford from office. They knew that he was too scrupulous to become an occasional Conformist. Arlington, though professedly a Roman Catholic, had no such scruples. Moreover, Shaftesbury had probably learnt, it may be from Arlington, the full extent of the deceit practised upon him in connection with the two treaties of Dover. With this support the bill experienced a better fate than its sister measure. On March 29, 1673, it received the royal assent, becoming popularly known as 'the Test Act.'⁷³ This act, though styled 'An Act for Preventing Dangers which may happen from Popish Recusants,' and which has been called 'the black charter of English protestantism,' fell with some severity upon Protestant Nonconformists who were unwilling to take the sacrament according to the usage of the Church of England. This it was no doubt which led a Quaker to write that 'the men of the two houses att Westminster are angry with the whore of Babilon, but follow anti-Christ still.'⁷⁴ 'What then will ye do?' writes Thompson.⁷⁵ 'There is one thing yet remains, play the Hypocrite, conform. That sovran Remedy for all your Maladies is at hand. It can do more than Repentance. Repentance can only assure you that none of your former sins shall be remembered, but Conformity will abolish the Idea of blame for the future.'

This brief session of parliament had seen the failure of Charles's supreme effort to secure toleration for Roman

⁷² Letters to Sir J. Williamson, i, p. 24.

⁷³ For full text see 'Documents,' p. 499.

⁷⁴ Letters to Sir J. Williamson, i, 67.

⁷⁵ Josuah Thompson MSS., Dr. William's Library, i, p. 8.

Catholics, and incidentally for Protestant dissenters. The Commons had asserted emphatically the constitutional maxim of legislation only by king in parliament. The Declaration had been cancelled, but the licences were not yet recalled. The bill to relieve Protestants not conformable to the Church of England had been wrecked in the Lords through the unveiled hostility of the bishops and the court party. Finally, additional disabilities had been placed upon Nonconformists though the act was aimed chiefly at Roman Catholics. It remained to be seen how the action taken by the Commons would affect Protestant Nonconformists.

CHAPTER VII

THE RECALL OF THE LICENCES. 1675

THE Commons of England had won for the nation another victory on behalf of parliamentary legislation: they had informed the king in unmistakable terms 'that the Legislative power was in him and them and that to change it was to change the government.'¹ They had destroyed the king's scheme of indulgence: in its turn, their bill for toleration had been ruined by the opposition of the bishops and the court party, the former out of mistaken zeal for the Church and inveterate hostility against nonconformity of every kind, the latter to prevent the isolation of Roman Catholics. Thus the position of Protestant dissenters was as bad as it had been before March 15th, 1672; nay it was probably worse. The doomed criminal may bring himself to face the gallows, if not with equanimity at least with composure. To grant, only to recall, a reprieve is surely inflicting unnecessary mental torture. The reprieve had been issued and recalled; the mental and physical sufferings were to follow. Worse, malicious rumour avowed that an after-reckoning would have to be paid for their brief liberty.² 'The Presbyterians,' writes Viscount Ranleigh,³ 'are left without either law or declaration, and will, it may be, have time and reason enough to repent their fierceness against the King.'⁴ There was at least one ray of hope. It is perfectly clear now, and should have been so then, that with the cancelling of the Declaration, it naturally followed that licences already issued were henceforth useless. It soon became apparent, however, that the king and the Council would make no objection to their continued use by dissenters, provided that justices of the peace could be prevailed upon to recognise them. One thing is perfectly clear; Charles for some two years took no active steps to have the licences recalled. On April 4, 1673, barely a month after the Declaration had been cancelled, Philip Henry, desponding over black prospects, was cheered by news from friends in London, that it was generally accepted that

¹ Baxter to Ed. Hough, Baxter MSS., Dr. William's Library.

² P. Henry's Diaries, p. 262.

³ C.S.P.D., 1673, p. 101.

⁴ Referring, no doubt, to the opposition offered to the king's exercise of dispensing power by protestant dissenters in the Commons.

Nonconformists were at liberty to plead their licences until they were revoked. The diarist adds:⁵ 'In the present juncture we are at great uncertainties but for my part I have given up all to the will of God and am in this further confirmed by what the Parliament did, that 'tis now it seems their Opinion, that 'tis fit wee should have liberty to preach, at least for a year and if the Quarter Sessions grant it.' Again, at Whitchurch⁶ he was shown a letter in which it was boldly affirmed that Charles and the Council had ordered justices to refrain from disturbing the meetings and conventicles of Nonconformists. That such an order was issued is, to say the least, doubtful. Much more probable is the story given by Oliver Heywood. That worthy tells how Charles summoned his judges to consult with them concerning this question, when they warned him that he had promised parliament that 'he would not draw the practice of the declaration into a precedent.'⁷ Nevertheless, since all justices were dependent upon himself, he could always show his displeasure towards those justices who began once more to persecute, by taking away their commissions. 'Accordingly he hath done, for one Mr. Hicks a non-conforming minister being disturbed and fined, he rid up to the king, who graunted an order for restoring his goods again, and also for taking away the justices commissions from them that did it—and upon this the ministers are fallen to their work again.'⁸ Even were the story untrue, the mere rumour that Charles would not countenance a renewal of persecution, was sufficient to infuse new hope and new courage into the hearts of the despairing. Some of the Lancashire ministers, congregated in Manchester to escape the operation of the Five Mile Act, recommenced their labours which had ceased with the withdrawal of the declaration.⁹ Some had continued their preaching arguing that since the Commons had proved themselves willing to grant toleration, no encouragement would be given to those who endeavoured to prosecute or persecute them.

Unfortunately the hope was vain. Informers, after a year's enforced idleness, were only too ready to ply their former trade. It was lucrative; it was easy. Many of the episcopal clergy had with difficulty endured the events of the past twelve months. To certain of their number it was gall and

⁵ P. Henry's *Diaries*, p. 262.

⁶ *Ibid.* p. 263.

⁷ O. Heywood, *iii*, p. 154-5.

⁸ Cf. *Tanner MSS.*, *42*, p. 110.

⁹ *Ibid.*

wormwood to know that at the very hour when they were holding divine service, dissenting ministers were preaching and administering the Sacrament to congregations which were increasing daily. Now the time for reckoning had come; penal laws were no longer suspended; let those fanatics either conform or be prepared to endure the penalties imposed. There seemed to be, even yet, a strange inability or absolute refusal to realise that men had not resigned comparative wealth and wedded poverty for mere factiousness. It seemed still to be an accepted truth that 'a good conscience' meant 'a bad spleen.' Baxter, in his life story, relates an interesting conversation which he held in May, 1673, with Dr. Peter Gunning, his powerful adversary at the Savoy Conference.¹⁰ Gunning 'vehemently professed that he was sure that it was not Conscience that kept us from Conformity, but merely to keep up our Reputation with the People, and we desired alterations for no other ends; and that we lost nothing by our Nonconformity, but were fed as full, and lived as much to the Pleasure of the Flesh in Plenty, as the Conformists did: And let me know what odious thoughts he had of his poor Brethren, upon Grounds so notoriously false, that I had thought that few Men that lived in England could have been so ignorant of matter of Fact. But alas, what is there so false and odious which exasperated factions, malicious Minds will not believe and say of others? And what evidence so notorious which they will not out-face?' The prevalence among conforming clergy of such a spirit as that which animated Dr. Peter Gunning augured ill for the future peace of dissenters.

Other clergy there were who, while in no way inclined to the kind of persecution which had prevailed since the Restoration, yet deplored the prevalence of sects, and sighed for the union and uniformity of Christians. To such, an order which Charles issued before the withdrawal of the Declaration must have been welcome. The king, 'sensible that the growing increase of the prevayling sects and disorders amongst us, proceeds chiefly from the generall neglect of instructing the younger sort of persons (or their erroneous instructions) in the grounds and principles of true Religion,'¹¹ ordered the bishops to enforce the execution of such laws and constitutions as enabled them to enjoin the use and exercise of the church catechism, and to proceed against all that dared to teach in schools without licence.

¹⁰ Baxter, iii, p. 104.

¹¹ Harleian MSS., pp. 42-43.

The method of healing divisions and destroying sects by the careful training of the children was far too slow and unremunerative for some. Even before the Declaration had been withdrawn, upon the mere report that parliament had annulled it, informers recommenced their harassing tactics. As early as February 26th, Peter Whalley, a justice, complained to Williamson that he was placed in a dilemma from which it was difficult to escape.¹² An informer had demanded a warrant against certain conventicles, and upon the justice showing signs of hesitation, had threatened to sue him for £100 according to the Conventicle Act of 1670. 'I desire your advice,' he writes, 'for I am very unwilling to offend the king, and yet loth to venture the knave.' After March 9th, 1673, informers became bolder and justices more perplexed. John Carr, of Christ's College, Cambridge, a justice of the peace for the town and the university, was similarly threatened with a suit. 'I beseech you therefore,' he pleads,¹³ 'to write by the first post or let one of your people write what you know to be his Majesty's sense therein, whether we should grant warrants to suppress them, they having licence to preach and meet.' The justices of Surrey told the same story. Writing to Archbishop Sheldon,¹⁴ the Bishop of Winchester tells of an interview he had held with them. 'I find by some discourse I had with diverse of them that they know not what they are to do in relation to the sectaries; for although the Declaration (whereby they were licensed to meet) being cancelled, and the bill (for ease to Protestant dissenters) being not passed, they make no doubt but that the sectaries of all sorts are in the same state as they were before the sayd declaration, and consequently as liable now to be punished by the Laws still in force as ever they were formerly, yet I think they will not be very forward to put those Laws in execution, untill some publick notice be given by way of Proclamation or otherwise that they may do so, neither do nor will the sectaries give over theyr publick meetings till some such authoritative notice be given to them.' Many complaints of a like character came from various parts. 'He is willing to do his duty, but unwilling to be fecht up to London or disgract at home, and therefore forbears to act vigorously till he can understand, whither it will be to any purpose.'¹⁵ . . . 'Few Justices have courage to oppose

¹² C.S.P.D., 1672-3, p. 613.

¹³ C.S.P.D., 1673, p. 120.

¹⁴ Tanner MSS., 42, p. 7.

¹⁵ Tanner MSS., 42, p. 110.

them.¹⁶ 'Let me know whether I may not take, as Justice of the Peace, a more speedy and effectual course by putting the late Act against Conventicles in execution:¹⁷ I find in this country an (allmost) universall jealousie, as it his Majestie at this present would not have it so . . . Therefore, Sir, I do request this charity, both for my self and other Justices of the Peace, in order to our duty, to have this doubt taken off, whether it agrees or agrees not with his Majesties pleasure, if we proceed against schismaticks according to the last Act of Parliament.'¹⁸ Thus in some counties, perhaps in most, justices refused to give warrants to informers or to countenance persecution in any form. Elsewhere, they were not so lenient; they allowed the law to take its course.¹⁹

¹⁶ Ibid. p. 114, cf. p. 118.

¹⁷ Remains of Denis Granville, ii, p. 13.

¹⁸ The answer is preserved:—'When I desired to know what answer I should return to you, I was told that lawes were made to be observed, and that the King's Ministers in their respective places knew their duties without having recourse to his Majesty upon every occasion.' (Secretary Cooke to Granville, Dean of Durham. Granville's Remains, ii, p. 14.)

¹⁹ Baxter, iii, 103. Letters to Sir J. Williamson, i, p. 134. The following letter throws some light upon the difficulties besetting would-be persecutors:—'Amongst many other Persons Convicted for Conventicles, Sept. the 16th, Wm. Manning a Teacher and one Richard Whinrope who had obtained a license for his owne house were both fined 20l. a peece. And thereupon Appealed to the Sessions at Beccles Oct. 5th, and altho' we used our utmost indeavours to Prevent them, yet they retained Mr. Henry Bedingfeild the only Counsellor in these Parts against us. The Shreeves deputy here was concerned also, And has returnd a Grandjury sum of which were Convicted Conventiclers. And great Suspition I had of the Bench, so that my fears and Dangers were without any aloy or Mixture of Comforts—Except the Goodness of the Course and the Hopes of Divine Assistance. But the case being opened by their Counsell the whole Bench fell on so handsomely that it exceeded my wishes. They tryed first upon the Matter of Law, and gave in exception, the King's Declaration and Licence, both which were overruled by Sr. Edward Turner's charge And the cancelling the former in Parliament. And so the former sentence confirmed. Then they had a tryal upon the matter of fact, by a Jury taken out of the grandinquest in which was but three persons for us, or rather indifferent. Here the convicted brought diverse to swear there was no meetings at the Day and places in the Record. But at Last they were offered to be discharged and have their moneys upon their owne corporal oathes that there was no Teaching. This they refused, and thereby Lost their case, their credit, and their friends. And so the verdict passed against them, To my Great Contentment who had first raised up the informers and then Assisted them with much labour and Expense. And although I never intend to reimburse the Latter out of the Penalties yet I was Loath it should totally perish. This hath much abated their fury, yet we meet with one Difficulty which as much hindreth our proceedings, (viz.) They which have no outward stock (that is all traders in townes most of the teachers) Lock there Doores and will suffer no distress to be taken, neyther doth the Statute (as the Justices conceive) allow them a power to break in for that purpose. Now if I could obtaine the Directions of any of the Grave Judges under their hands in this case and a few others, . . . I would hope to work a good reformation in these parts . . . Edward Bohun.' (Tanner MSS., 42, p. 129.)

Nathaniel Heywood of Ormskirk experienced more trouble and opposition in his ministry during the first four months of 1673 than he had previously had in all his life.²⁰ Thirty-four warrants were out against him, every Sabbath officers came to arrest him but he managed to escape. At last he was caught²¹ 'I am very well, I bless God, and never in greater honour, or so highly advanced in all my life ; I was pulled out of the Pulpit with a Pistol lifted up at my head, and a God-dam-me in mine ears, but the man repents his rashness, and wishes he had let me preach, for he never heard a better prayer I fear it must be an Imprisonment, or promise not to preach, which is my very life.' Jolly had a similar experience. Preaching at Slade, he was interrupted by the arrival of a captain and his men.²² The officer commanded Jolly to come down, 'swearing most blasphemously, calling me most shamefully, and threatening to pistol me.' Deeming discretion the better part of valour, Jolly obeyed the command, was marched off to the nearest gaol, to be released two days later on his bond to appear again.²³ Oliver Heywood, more fortunate than his brother Nathaniel, escaped with nothing worse than a warning letter from the irate vicar of his parish. Oliver had preached from the text : 'Show me a token for good ; that they which hate me may see it, and be ashamed.' The token was not wanting : the hearts of his congregation were deeply affected ; but the latter part of his pious prayer remained unanswered. The vicar, hearing of the meeting, wrote to a prominent member of Heywood's flock :²⁴ 'Sr, I hoped to have met your minister on Wednesday at our church and after with your brethren the feoffee of Mr. Nathaniel Waterhouse at the lecturers house, but I suppose you were so full with the 4 hours exercise at the dedication of your new-built cottage (as you formerly calld it, now turn'd into a synagogue), that you could not digest the prayers of our church and a sermon there the next day, had I seen you then or foreseen your designed meeting, I should have been so bold (as my pastoral duty binds me) to have asked your authority, to that end I was to wait on you at your inn to-day, but you being gone home I sent after you this messenger, on the same errand, if you have authority, I desire you to show it, and that before the next meeting (which I hear is on thursday next) and I have done, if you have not

²⁰ 'Life of N. Heywood,' pp. 26-7.

²¹ Ibid. pp. 30-32.

²² Jolly's Note Book, p. 17.

²³ Cf. P.C.R., xi, p. 14; Besse, i, pp. 748-760, &c.

²⁴ Oliver Heywood, 'Autobiog.', i, p. 347.

I require you to desist, your act (however you judge it) being a sin, a scandal, a schisme, a danger, and so you will find perhaps sooner then you expect: if you shall please in thankfulnes to god who hath increased your estate to express your pious charity you may do it more piously in making an addition to the chappel of Sowerby: I give you this timely intimation and caution in christian charity and expect your answer.'

Justices and ministers in thus persecuting and harassing Nonconformists, were running, as it proved, considerable risk of incurring the royal displeasure. On June 13, 1673, the justices of Oxfordshire were called before the Council²⁵ to give answer concerning an order made by them at the quarter sessions, in which they declared that the penal laws against Nonconformists were still in force because the king had not power to suspend them. The Lord Chancellor, at the king's command, told them that Charles was convinced of their loyalty and affection but it were better for them hence-forward to leave affairs of state alone, 'for it was a matter of dangerous consequence.' That same day, Sir Robert Shirley, a justice of Leicestershire, appeared to answer a complaint made by the Nonconformists of Ashby-de-la-Zouch.²⁶ They affirmed that not only had he put the laws in execution against them, broken up their meetings, and levied fines on those found attending them, but he had also spoken disrespectfully of the king's authority. Sir Robert denied the accusation most stoutly, calling Lord Beaumont and other country gentlemen to witness to his loyalty. Charles, unwilling to proceed with the case, 'for the Nonconformists would have sworn to the information, but, it is feared, falsely,' professed himself convinced of the innocence of the accused and so discharged him to the great satisfaction of the many country squires who had flocked to London to watch the issue.

Such cases, and there were many, made it imperative that justices should be instructed how they were to act in order to avoid the numerous pitfalls.²⁷ At the Council, even before the two cases already mentioned, the matter had been frequently debated and draft letters prepared.²⁸ As early as April 18, 1673, the question had been brought forward,²⁹ and it was decided that something should be done 'as may best secure the Peace and good temper of the Subjects till

²⁵ C.S.P.D., 1673, p. 369.

²⁶ Ibid.; Letters to Sir J. Williamson, i, pp. 33-4, 42.

²⁷ Letters to Sir J. Williamson, i, p. 93.

²⁸ Letters to Sir J. Williamson, i, pp. 33-4.

²⁹ P.C.R., xi, p. 6.

the meeting of the Parliament when some final Settlement is likely to be made in this Affaire.' Yet whatever was done, should be effected very cautiously so as neither to suspend the laws in force, nor authorise licences which only depended on a declaration now revoked. 'This was the nice narrow patch,' writes Sir Robert Southwell, 'that could hardly be hit.' The Chancellor, the two Secretaries of State, and Lord Holles were appointed to frame a letter embodying the opinions of the Council. Apparently they failed. Other letters were prepared but failed to give satisfaction.³⁰ With much trouble, Anglesey, the Lord Privy Seal prepared this compound of them all :—³¹

'(Lords of Council) to—

'His Majesty having received information from divers places of disorders and animosities arising between his subjects on occasion of dissenting from the form of worship and discipline by law established, and the separate assembling of Protestant Dissenters, and taking into consideration that a bill is now pending in Parliament for making a just and prudent provision therein and how prejudicial it may prove, if by the heat and unequal temper of some not attending with patience the wise and necessary resolution of Parliament, the strength of his crown and people should be weakened by division when he has occasion for the unanimity of all his subjects and observing with great satisfaction the moderation and discreet demeanour of the City of London in this whole concern, has thought fit by the advice of this Board not only to approve thereof but to command us to recommend so good an example to all his officers, ministers, and subjects, that so the resolution in this great affair may be reserved entire to the reassembling of Parliament, when he doubts not but by their wisdom a full adjustment and composure will be in this business. In the meantime he expects that all those dissenting persons behave dutifully and peacefully, and observe such hours for their meetings and other circumstances as may give no offence, interruption nor hindrance to that attendance which ought everywhere to be on divine service in the parish churches, to which end you are to use your best endeavours to secure the peace and prevent all disturbances both by your example and advice and by general notification of his Majesty's gracious intention.'

Charles not only thought that this letter failed 'to hit the narrow patch,' but also at the last moment deemed it inexpedient 'to put anything in writing which would, how well

³⁰ Letters to Sir J. Williamson, i, pp. 33-4.

³¹ C.S.P.D., 1673, pp. 367-8.

soever drawn, be quarrelled at, and create more trouble than the remedying of the particular complaints that may happen.³²

The king was right. It must have involved him in a fresh dispute with the Commons. Nor would it have been of the slightest use in settling the difficulties of the situation. Intended to be ambiguous, it was altogether too vague and unsatisfactory. As it was, all parties were in a condition of unrest. 'Everyone takes great liberties to shew themselves discontented, and to shew the errors of our Government, some blaming the great countenance the Nonconformists have.'³³ Dissenters continued to petition and appeal to the king against the disturbing of their meetings. On the other hand, the Justices of Oxford contemplated laying their case before parliament in order to get security and indemnity for the future.

Yet with all the discontent, Nonconformists continued to hold their meetings. At Yarmouth, according to Williamson's correspondent Bower, they were particularly enterprising.³⁴ In November, 1674, they gave out that they were shortly to be heard by the king in Council, and a few days later affirmed that they had obtained from the king, letters to the justices forbidding them to grant warrants to informers. Two of these informers, attempting to obtain entrance into one of their meeting-houses for the purpose of taking names, had cause to repent of their essay.³⁵ With a cry of 'Thieves!' the conventiclers fell upon them, drew them through a foul pig-sty, and then, with the intention, no doubt, of cleansing them, ducked them in a pond. 'One of the two is since dead of their rash handling.' At Margate the erection of a meeting-house went merrily forward as though the Declaration of Indulgence were in full force.³⁶ At Leeds, it would seem, the nonconformist preacher had little difficulty in overcoming the officers whom the mayor had sent to order him to stop preaching.³⁷ 'Are not you Christians?' he asked, 'and surely you will not be worse to us than heathens were to Paul who had liberty to preach the gospel in heathen Rome.'³⁸

³² Letters to Sir J. Williamson, i, p. 34.

³³ Letters to Sir J. Williamson, i, p. 93.

³⁴ C.S.P.D., 1673-5, pp. 396, 442, 454.

³⁵ C.S.P.D., 1673-5, p. 396.

³⁶ C.S.P.D., 1673-5, p. 581.

³⁷ O. Heywood, 'Diaries, &c.', iii, 162.

³⁸ This reminds one of Mr. Bampfield's reply to the constable who said he had from the Lord Mayor a warrant to disturb Bampfield's meeting: 'I have a warrant from Christ, who is Lord Maximus, to you.' (Crosby, ii, 357.)

There was even some talk of comprehension,³⁹ as though it had not been demonstrated sufficiently clearly that it was quite impossible. The Earl of Orrery, professing to be acting in accordance with the wishes of many great men, including Morley Bishop of Winchester, approached Baxter at the close of 1673, asking him to draw up in brief the terms which would satisfy the majority of Nonconformists in order that all Protestants might unite against Roman Catholicism. Although he had little hope of any good result, Baxter complied.⁴⁰ He proposed that the meeting-houses of dissenters should be allowed as chapels till the ministers could be received into benefices; that those without meeting-houses should have liberty to be schoolmasters or lecturers; that no lecturer should be forced to read the liturgy or the Apocrypha; that parents should be allowed to dispense with godfathers, &c., at baptism; that ministers should not be obliged to administer the sacrament to the notoriously wicked, nor to deny it to those who refused to kneel; that toleration should be given to all conscientious dissenters. The old policy of the episcopalians was continued. The result of Baxter's 'concessions' was a learned criticism of his terms, written, he suspected, by Morley.

Charles was gradually abandoning the policy which had led to his numerous attempts at toleration. Shaftesbury had been dismissed from office in November, 1673. The king was drifting into an alliance with Sir Thomas Osborne, created Earl of Danby in June, 1674, and the High Anglican party, an alliance which necessarily involved the strict enforcement of uniformity in religion and no toleration either for Roman

³⁹ A religious comprehension bill was introduced in parliament in February, 1674, but did not proceed far. Referring to the Act of Uniformity it enacted that for the satisfaction of sober and peaceable persons who had hitherto scrupled at the Declaration in § ii, and whose services might be useful in the Church, that section should be repealed; and also that the words relating to the Solemn League and Covenant in the Declaration in § vi, which was to continue in force until 25 March, 1682, should be omitted. Provided that if any person, obliged by the Act of Uniformity to subscribe the declaration against the Solemn League and Covenant, should hereafter by preaching, printing, or writing, declare his adherence to that oath, then on confession or conviction by a jury of twelve, he should, for the first offence, forfeit to the crown the profit of all his spiritual benefices, promotions, &c., arising in one whole year after such conviction; for the second offence, be deprived *ipso facto*, of all his spiritual promotions or employments, the patrons or donors thereof being allowed to collate another, as though the person so offending were dead; and for the third offence, be made thenceforth utterly incapable of holding any ecclesiastical dignity whatsoever. (H.M.C.R., ix, ii, p. 44.) Baxter asserts that the original draft of the bill provided for the abolition of all oaths, &c., except subscription to the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, and to the doctrine of the Church of England. Morley was responsible for the alteration. (Baxter, iii, p. 140.)

⁴⁰ Baxter, iii, pp. 110-113.

Catholics or for Protestant dissenters. Hence it is not surprising that in October, 1674, for the first time during his reign, he summoned the bishops to give him advice. Hitherto all such conferences had been composed of dissenters as well as Conformists. Williamson sent out letters to the prelates ordering them to repair to London with all possible speed to advise the king concerning weighty matters relating to religion and to the interests of the Church.⁴¹ Sheldon also sent out his letters to the bishops concerning the line of action they should take.⁴² Some of them pleaded ill-health, others age, but at last there assembled Sheldon, Archbishop of Canterbury;⁴³ Morley, Bishop of Winchester; Crew, Bishop of Durham; Ward, Bishop of Salisbury; Henshaw, Bishop of Peterborough; Dolben, Bishop of Rochester; Brideoak, Bishop of Chichester; and Pearson, Bishop of Chester. To these were added the Duke of Lauderdale and the Earl of Danby.⁴⁴

After many meetings and considerable delay, the bishops, in January, 1675, forwarded their advice to the king.⁴⁵ They dealt chiefly with the need for the suppression of popery, and how it might best be effected, but they also advised 'that his Majesty be pleased to take effectual care for the suppression of conventicles, and whereas they support themselves by pretence of licences and authority from him, he would publicly declare that the licences were since recalled and that they had no authority or encouragement from him.'⁴⁶ As a method of putting this advice into effect they proposed a proclamation on the lines suggested, but they thought it advisable that the proclamation should close with 'some little door of hope' to dissenting Protestants.⁴⁷

Following this advice, Charles issued on February 3, 1675, an order in Council.⁴⁸ 'His Majesty,' it runs, 'was pleased this day in Council to Declare, That he found it necessary that the Laws which were made for the preservation both of Church and State, should be put in Execution, with more care and diligence than of late they have been; and that having long since Commanded His Judges to do their Duty herein; He had also lately advised with several of His Bishops, and upon due Consideration of the whole Matter,

⁴¹ C.S.P.D., 1673-5, p. 390.

⁴² Tanner MSS., 42, p. 137.

⁴³ C.S.P.D., 1673-5, p. 551.

⁴⁴ Baxter, iii, p. 153.

⁴⁵ C.S.P.D., 1673-5, pp. 550-551.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

⁴⁷ Cf. C.S.P.D., 1667, p. 447.

⁴⁸ London Gazette, No. 962.

had Resolved, and doth therefore order⁴⁹ . . . that effectual care be taken for the suppression of Conventicles; And whereas divers pretend Licences from his Majesty, and would support themselves by that pretence, His Majesty Declares, that all His Licences were long since Recalled, and that no Conventicle hath any Authority, Allowance, or Encouragement from His Majesty.' This was followed on February 10, by a 'declaration for enforcing a late Order made in Council.'⁵⁰ commanding the order to be observed in all its points. Sheldon, too, about this time, ordered his bishops to make enquiries so as to find out the numbers in each diocese of Conformists, 'Popish Recusants or persons suspected of such Recusancy,' and 'other Dissenters . . . which either obstinately refuse or wholly absent themselves from the Comunion of the Church of England at such times as by Law they are required.'⁵¹

Thus the last vestige of authority for their meetings was cut from under the feet of dissenters, because the king had no further need of them. That the king's order in Council fell heavily upon ministers and congregations cannot be doubted. Oliver Heywood, having 'studyeid a good sermon and pleased myself in imagining what an auditory I should have the day after,' on his way to preach at the new meeting-house at Leeds, met a friend who showed him the king's order.⁵² Having given a promise to the mayor and aldermen that preaching should cease if ever Charles recalled his licences, he could only submit. Nathaniel, his brother, was heard to say before he died: 'I think this turning us out of our Licensed places will cost Mr. Yates and me our lives. Oh, this goes heavily! our casting out of our great places was not so much as casting us out of our little places.'⁵³ Quakers had to look forward to renewed persecution. Thus the satirist portrays them as counselling emigration to the West:

'Come Friends let's away,
Since our Yea and Nay
In England is now slighted,
To the Indians we'll goe,
And our Lights to them show,
That they be no longer benighted.'

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⁴⁹ By this order:—(1) The conviction of popish recusants was to be quickened. (2) Mass was not to be said. (3) Persons who had taken orders by authority derived from Rome were to depart. (4) No persons were to be sent for their education to popish colleges, &c.

⁵⁰ London Gazette, No. 965. P.C.R., xi, p. 372.

⁵¹ Lambeth MSS., 639.

⁵² O. H., i, p. 336.

⁵³ 'Nathaniel Heywood,' p. 66.

We'll teach them to Quake,
 And wry Mouths to make,
 And pretend Inspiration ;
 That the Priests that are there
 Shall readily swear,
 We worship the Gods of their Nation.

To New Jersey with speed
 Come all Friends that need
 Wealth, or large Possessions ;
 The Indians we'll make
 To serve us and Quake,
 And be slaves to our Professions.'

The Declaration of Indulgence and the licences it had created were things of the past. But not the king himself could stay the movements he had started ; he could but remove the instruments which had given them their impetus. Reresby looking back upon the Declaration, and noting its effects, wrote : 'All sectaries now publickly repaired to their Meetings and Conventicles ; nor could all the Laws afterwards, and the most vigorous execution of them, ever suppress these separatists or bring them to due conformity.'⁵⁴ In the returns sent in answer to the enquiries of Archbishop Sheldon in 1675, it is asserted that 'many left the Church upon the Indulgence, who before did frequent it.'⁵⁵ That is to say, many who, from fear of persecution, had adopted occasional conformity took courage to worship with their brethren. A large number who till 1672 had held consistently before themselves the possibility and the advisability of comprehension, abandoned it to set up churches and congregations definitely separated from the Church of England. Families who had hitherto, it may be unwillingly, submitted their infants for baptism in the Established Church, now brought them to their own pastors. Ordinations among Presbyterians, not held since the Restoration, were performed once more. A vast number of dissenting congregations, existing even to this day, date their formation and continuous life from Charles II's Declaration of Indulgence.

What the Nonconformist bodies gained, the Church to some extent lost. Piteous indeed are the complaints of bishops, clergy and their agents. 'The Churches are not so well filled

⁵⁴ Reresby's Memoirs (1734), pp. 19-20.

⁵⁵ Lambeth MSS., 639.

as lately they were, and seducers are many and busy.⁵⁶ 'We are fallen back from much of that good order which was in our Diocese (Durham) since our late Bishop's death and indulgence.'⁵⁷ 'I have spent above £40 of my owne Estate, to no purpose so stiff is the Opposition of the Party, and so little the assistance cf them above me, and as for my Equals many of them have been my bitterest opposers. So that for the future I must be as moderate as the rest upon pain of being Ruined.'⁵⁸ Desperate efforts were made for 'a generall reduction from Scishme to the Church' but with little effect.⁵⁹ Nonconformists had been given a start which even the persecution in 1682 could not reduce.

⁵⁶ Western MSS., 28,181, p. 242.

⁵⁷ Denis Granville, ii, p. 15

⁵⁸ Tanner MSS., 42, p. 204.

⁵⁹ Ibid. p. 151.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX I

(S.P.D. Car. II, Vol. XXIV, p. 29.)

To the Kings most excellent Majestie The Humble addresse and petition of the Ministers of the gospel in the Countie palatine of Lancaster.

As we desire with heartie thanks to almighty God to protest our unfeigned joy and satisfaction in your Majesties almost miraculous restitution to your rightfull government, soe alsoe to bless the same God for those excellent princely qualifications that have soe clearly and abundantly shined forth already in you since that your happie restoration and withall in the greatest humilitie with one thankfulness to your Majestie doe acknowledge those many acts of grace which wee and all your good people have already in a short time received from your goodnes and bountie both in relation to this distracted Church and distempered state most suitable to, and seasonable for a dissettled and divided state and time, more especiallie your Majesties late declaration concerning Ecclesiastical affaires. Although some of us cannot but be sensible of those Solemn Obligations that we finde our Consciences charged with and engaged inviolably by, yet as being passionately desirous of peace and studious of healing the breaches of this poore shattered Church and state (wherein we humblie conceive your Majesties great intrest doth consist) Wee doe with great thankfulness acknowledge that this your royal act hath proceded from a spirit of greatest princely prudence and moderation and is a very apt and excellent expedient for union and settlement, humbly and chearfully receiving this with all the rest of your Majesties acts of royal favour as the hopefull first fruits of a Large and plentiful harvest of further and future good to us and posteritie. And whereas there are some penal statutes that seem to be in force concerning some of the matters in your Majesties Declaration expressed and contained in the prosecution whereof some of us and our brethren else where have been molested and indicted and are yet in dainger soe to be we most humbly pray your Majestie that such statutes may be repealed and such course taken that your Majesties declaration may have its free course to attaine its end and to yield us and the rest of your good subjects the intended benefit thereof and out of a sweet tast and sence of the goodnes and beneficialnes of your princely fatherly care and tenderness over us and the rest of your Majesties good people alredy expressed we in all humilitie crave that the same may be still graciously continued exercised and improved in a yet further providing for the union and accord of all sober men though of different Judgments and for the releife of many hundreds of distressed godly ministers at this present destitute of place and maintenance and the incouragement of good men and the discouragement of all bad men and the discountenanceing of Papists (with whome some parts of our County doe exceedingly abound) who now take far greater libertie then formerly for the exercise of theire Religion which we humbly pray may by your Majesties care and wisdome bee prevented and redressed and that all the of Jesus Christ (by whome Kings reigne and whoe is the King of Kings and Lord of Lords) may be brought to the nearest conformity to the revealed will of the Lord Christ soe far forth as the same can be discovered and knowne and that ease indulgence and immunitie may be afforded to the Godly and religious that are Orthodox and peaceable and yet in some things unsatisfied. They being such as are and have bin true and faithful to the Civil Monarchical government and the Kingly interest of your Majestie and your royal familie as Gods sacred ordinance to and over us which is the joyned and grounded perswasion of our hearts and from which we could never

hitherto be removed by all the temptations artifices and endeavours of the late usurpers or theire instruments, having bin sadly touched in our very hearts with a sharpe and deepe sence of the horrid barbarous and unparelled murther of your royal father and publiquely declared against the same. And whereas we or some of us have bin injuriously misrepresented to your Majestie or some eminent persons about you and have also bin prejudiced and molested as if we denied your supremacie or wee are disaffected to your government (which hindred this our application to your Majestie although prepared and which other wise had bin much earlier even with the first) wee doe in all humilitie with great earnestness profess before God and man that we detest and abhorre the very thoughts of any such unworthie principle, behaviour, or expression, Having alwaies according to occasion expressed and declared the contrary and doe therefore humblie begge that noe such apprehension of us may be entertained in your royll breast but rather that your Majestie will looke upon us as such whoe by Gods grace shall be alwaies readie according to opportunitie with all loyaltie, faithfullness, and dutifullness to expresse and evidence ourselves

Your Mats^{ts} most loyall dutifull
and obedient Subjects

Samuel Wood.	Paul Lathom.	Thos. Crompton.	James Hiat.
Thomas Gregge.	Thos. Pike.	John Fogge.	John Angier.
Thomas Ellison.	Samuel Boden.	Thomas Whitehead.	Isaac Ambrosc.
James Holme.	Zachariah Taylor.	John Jaques.	John Harrison.
Richard Holbrooke.	John King.	Henry Fisher.	James Wood.
Edward Richardson.	William Ingham.	Nicholas Smith.	William Bell.
David Dury.	Timothy Smith.	Peter Atkinson.	John Tilsley.
Peter Naylor.	George Thomason.	Thomas White.	Robert Constantine.
James Jackson.	Timothy Rootes.	James Talbot.	William Cole.
Peter Aspinwall, Minister of formyb where now more people goe openlie to Masse then to our Church.			
James Walton.	Henry Finch.	Nathaniel Baxter.	Robert Yates.
John Angier, Junr.	William Aspinwall.	John Atkinson.	Henry Newcome.
	John Mallenson.	William Leigh.	Henry Welsh.
	Nathaniel Heywood.	Thomas Holland.	Jonathan Scolfield.
	John Isherwood.	Edmond Jones.	Leonard Clayton.
	Hugh Barrow.	Jeremiah Topping.	John Breres.
	James Bradshaw.		Robert Eaton.

NOTE.—The signatures to the MS. are not original.

APPENDIX II

THE chief, and indeed the only complete, sources of information concerning the ejected clergy, are the works of Calamy and Palmer. Since they appeared, various counties have been handled with more or less success.

Urwick has given the history of nonconformity in Worcester, Cheshire and Hertfordshire. Nightingale has worked upon Lancashire, while others have attempted to trace the rise and growth of nonconformity in Yorkshire, Essex, Oxford, Bucks, Berks, Norfolk, Suffolk, and Wales. But no one has yet attempted, what must prove to be a tremendous task, the correction of Calamy and Palmer. It is not difficult to point out the ways in which these works might be corrected and improved. In many cases the date of ejection is missing, the names of persons and places are inaccurate, and dates, when given, are not to be implicitly trusted. The material at hand for one anxious to undertake the task is large. Most satisfactory and useful are the episcopal registers, which, however, can be investigated only at the various cathedral cities. Many corrections of Calamy may be made from the 46th Report of the Deputy Keeper of the Public Records. Much unused material is to be found also in the collection made for his 'Sufferings of the Clergy' by Walker, in the MS. letters of the period, and in the many biographies.

As regards the numbers ejected, after some months' work upon the question, we would offer the following statistics, at the same time giving warning that though they may be more accurate than any offered hitherto, much remains to be done before reliable statistics can be obtained.

Ejected in England and Wales between May, 1660, and St. Bartholomew, 1662—450.

Ejected in England and Wales at St. Bartholomew—1,800. These figures do not include schoolmasters, or clergy who were merely silenced

APPENDIX III

THE following is a copy of the notice sent to Churchwardens of Garstang, declaring the church of Garstang void, owing to the nonconformity of Isaac Ambrose. (See Baines' 'History of Lancashire,' i, 235.)

'Whereas in a late act of Parliament for uniformitie, it is enacted that every parson, vicar, curate, lecturer, or other ecclesiastical person, neglecting or refusing, before the Feast Day of St. Bartholomew, 1662, to declare openly before their respective congregations, his assent and consent to all things contained in the booke of common prayer established by the said act, ipso facts be deposed, and that every person not being in holy orders by episcopall ordination, and every parson, vicar, curate, lecturer, or other ecclesiastical person, failing in his subscription to a declaration mentioned in the said act to be subscribed before the Fast Day of St. Bartholomew, 1662, shall be utterly disabled, and ipso facts deprived, and his place be void, as if the person so failing be naturally dead. And whereas Isaac Ambrose, late vicar of Garstang, in the county of Lancaster, hath neglected to declare and subscribe according to the tenor of the said act, I doe therefore declare the church of Garstang to be now void, and doe strictly charge the said Isaac Ambrose late vicar of the said church, to forbear preaching, lecturing, or officiating, in the said church, or elsewhere in the diocese of Chester. And the Churchwardens of the said Parish of Garstang are hereby required (as by duty they are bound) to secure and preserve the said parish church of Garstang from any invasion or intrusion of the said Isaac Ambrose, disabled and deprived as above said by the said act, and the churchwardens are also required upon sight hereof to show this order to the said Isaac Ambrose, and cause the same to be published the next Sunday after in the Parish Church of Garstang, before the congregation as they will answer the contrary.

Given under my hand this 29th day of August 1662

Geo. Cestriens.

To the Churchwardens of Garstang, in the County
Palatine of Lancaster.

APPENDIX IV

Lambeth Palace MSS. 639.

THE following account of the conventicles held in Lancashire was returned by the Bishop of Chester to Archbishop Sheldon, in answer to his inquiries, 1669:—

In Arch-Deaconry of Chester.

BLACKBOURNE DEANRY.

Blackbourne	Several Conventicles of Nonconformists the hearers of them usually to the number of 100 of all sorts and Conditions. There have been also Conventicles at Darwen Chappell.
Churchkirke	A meeting of Independents to the number of about 30.
Hastingden	Quakers to the number of about 20.
Burnley	Several meetings of Quakers.
Altham	Convent of Independents and some separatists.
Whalley	Several Conventicles, some very numerous, their last meeting consisting of 200 p'sons or above, others of 10, sometimes 20 p'sons.
Rossendale	Quakers.
Clitheroe	Noe Conventicles.
Samsbury	" "
Newchurch in Pendale	" "
Walton in le Dale	" "
Harwood	" "
Colne	" "
Padiham	" "

LEYLAND DEANRY.

Brindle	Weekly meetings of Papists.
Standish	Monthly meetings of Quakers their number about 40 or 50 and severall other Conventicles.
Chorley	Noe Conventicles.
Penwortham	" "
Croston	" "

MANCHESTER DEANRY.

Manchester	Frequent Conventicles of Nonconformists (wch are the most numerous) otrs of Anabaptists, Quakers. The persons are Tradesmen and mostly women.
Birch Chapel	Frequent and numerous Conventicles consisting chiefly of Independents.
Gorton Chapel	Frequent and numerous Conventicles of Presbyterians.
Deynton Chapel	Frequent Conventicles chiefly of Presbyterians, one lately holden, consisted of about 150 persons.

MANCHESTER DEANRY—*continued*

Bury	Meetings of Quakers to a great number several other Conventicles of Presby- terians, Independents, Dippers and such like of the best rank of the yeomanry.
Prestwich	Several Conventicles formerly lesse frequent now.
Middleton	Frequent Conventicles in Cockey Chappell of No conf.
Oldham	Conventicle of Papists to the numbr of about 20 or 30.
Ratch-Dale	Frequent Conventicles wthin this parish of Nonconformists sometimes about 100 (Tradesmen).
Deane	There have been weekly two or 3 or more meetings to the numbr of 30 or 40 and many times to double the numbr. The p'sons that usually soe meeete are ministers and other people of all sorts and Degrees, both men and women.
Saddleworth Chap.	A Convent. abot 9 and another of about 7 Presbyterian.
Flixton	Noe Conventicle.
Salford	" "
Eccles	" "
Totmerden Chap.	" "
Butterworth Chap.	" "

WARRINGTON DEANRY.

Walton	Two Conventicles of Independents held in Toxteth Parke, the usuall number of each, is betwixt 100 and 200, some of them husbandmen, otrs merchants wth several sorts of Tradesmen. Another Convent of Papists consisting of about the bettr part of 100 persons, of Divers qualities.
Kirby Chap. in Walton	
P'ish	A Frequent Conventicle of about 40 people and upward.
Halsal	A meeting of Papists.
Maghull	Several Conventicles said to be there.
Northmeales	Several Quakers and Papists.
Leverpoole	A frequent Conventicle of about 30 or 40 Anabaptists most of them rich people.
Formby	Papists about 100.
Ormskirke	Some Convent: of Nonconf. Papists Quakers.
Alkar	Many publick meetings of Papists.
Aughton	A Convent. But neithr the numbr, nor Condicon of people great.
Childwall	Some Conventicles suspected.
Huyton	Some Conventicles.
Prescott	Frequent Convents in ye Chappelries, be- longing to the Parish.
Winwick	Very many and numerous Conventicles.
Melling	Noe Conventicles.
Sephton	" "
Leigh	" "

FURNES DEANRY.

Hauxhead	Quakers meete in greate numbers.
Ulverston	Independents and Quakers.
Cartmeale	Quakers about 30 and some Anabaptists
Cartmeale fell Chap.	Quakers.
Aldingham	Some Quakers.
Couller	Quakers.
Broughton	Noe Conventicles.
Pennington	" "
Dalton	" "

AMOUNDERNESS DEANRY.

Kirkham	There are 3 sorts of Conventicles within this parish one of Papists, one at Westhall whither visibly and ordinaryly resort some hundreds. Another att Monbrick, Another at Plumpton, Another att Salwick hall othrs at Singleton, the second of Quakers neare little Eccleston. the third of Phanaticks, att Lund Chappell and at Heap Chap. There hath also beene frequent Conventicles at Gousnarth, a Chappelry in this parish.
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APPENDIX V

THE following are copies of the petitions and addresses presented to Charles II by various Lancashire bodies upon the publication of his Declaration of Indulgence, 1672. (See Chapter IV.)

I. STATE PAPERS DOMESTIC CAR. II. 321 p. 93.

To the kinges most Excellent Matie

The humble petition of some of the Inhabitants of Blackelie, in the County of Lancaster, on the behalp of our selves and others, Sheweth :

That whereas it haithe pleased your matie by your Late declaration of Marche the 15th 167½ gratiouſlie to ſuspend the execution of all penall Lawes, in matters Ecclesiſyicall againſt us non-conformiſts, your maties Loiall and Faithfull ſubjects, And thereiп your matie is pleaſed to promiſ Allowance of perſons and places for the publick Exercise of our worship and devotion (if it bee deſired) wiſh wee doe with all humilitie and thanckfullneſſ Acknowledg

Your Petticyoners moſt humblie beſeche and ſupplicate your matie Allowance and approbation that the house or houseing of Mr Thomas Pycke may bee a place for your petticioners and others that pleaſe to Asſeble ther for their Publicke Worſhip and Devotion, And that your matie would bee pleaſed likewiſe graciously to Allow of Mr Thomas pykel of the Presbyterian perſwation to exercise his ministeriall Function their.

And your petticioners ſhall chearfully and cordially (as in dutie bound) ever praie for your matie longe happye and Proſperous Raighne.

Richard Travis.
John Travis.
James Clough.
John Ogden.
Edward Hide.
Thomas Travis.
Richard Heywood.
Thomas Tutloe.
Thomas Hoide.
John Pendleton.

II. STATE PAPERS DOMESTIC CAR. II. 320 p. 250.

To the Kings moſt Excellent matie

The Humble petition of diuers of the Inhabitants of the parish of Eccles in the County Palatine of Lancaster in the name of themſelves and ſundry others of the ſame parish.

Humbly ſheweth

That wee doe with all thankfullneſſe acknowledge yr Maties gracious declaration of the 15th of March laſt paſt, whereiп yr Maties Indulgence to ſuch as cau-not conforme in all things to the Churc̄ of England as it is now eſtabliſhed professiſe our Loyalty to yr Sacred Matie and reſolveiſe by the graſe of god to use the liberty thereiп granted to us with that peaceableness that yr Matie may haue noe reaſon to repent of this favor allowed to us thereiп.

Wee are humble petiſioners to yr Sacred Matie that in purſuance theirof yr Matie would bee graciously pleased to allowe of Mr Edmund Jones Master in Artes one of the presbyterian perſwasion and our former vicor² of our parish to exercise his ministeriall office amouſte us and

1. Thomas Pyke was ejected from Radclif, Lancashire, in 1662.

2. Ejected 1662.

that the out buildings of Alexander Leavor situate in the towne of Eccles may be the place allowed for our publick worship and devotion.

For which Royall favor to the said Mr Jones and us, yor Maties most Humble petitioners shall ever pray.

Edmund Goolden.	John Dauntesey.
Randell Olini.	John Valentine.
William Hardman.	E. Valentine.
	Daniel Gaskell.
	John Crompton.
	Tho. Crompton.
	John Dixon.
	Thomas Edge.
	John Filder.
	John Sieger (?)

III. STATE PAPERS DOMESTIC CAR. II. 320 p. 298.

To the Kings most excellent Majestie.

The humble addresse and petition of seaverall of the Inhabitants of little Hilton [Hulton] in the County of Lancaster in the behalf of them selves and sundry others in the same Neighbourhood.

Humbly Sheweth

That your Maties Gratioues Indulgence Expressed in your Maties Declaration of March ye 15th last past is with all thankfulness Acknowledged by us. And professing our loyalty to yor sacred Matie with all sincerity, And resolving by the Assistance of God to use the said Liberty with that moderation and peaceableness that yor Matie (for as much as in us lies) may not have cause to repent of the liberty so granted to us.

Wee are yor Ma:ties most Humble petitioners that in pursuance thereof yor Matie would bee pleased to Allow and Licence Mr Edward Richardson¹ Mr in Artes and Minister of the Gospel (one of the Presbyterians persuasion) to exercise his Ministry Amongst us. And that the house of Mr Robert Mort Comonly called Wharton Hall situate in the said Little Hilton (hee the said Mr Mort beeing consenting and a subscriber hereunto) may bee the place Allowed for our meeting.

For which yor Ma:ties favour to the said Mr Richardson and us

Yor Ma:ties most Humble petrs shall evr pray &c.

Thomas Smith.
Robert Mort.
William Long.
Francis Topping.
Thomas Brabin.
Richard Colliar.
Humfry Borsion.

IV. STATE PAPERS DOMESTIC CAR. II. 320 p. 117.

To the Kings most Excellent Matie

The Humble Addresse & Peticon of seaverall Inhabitants of the Towne of Manchester in the County Palatine of Lancaster, in the name of themselves and sundry others of the same Towne.

Humbly sheweth

That your Maties Gracious Declaration of the 15th of March last past wherein Your Maties Indulgence to us is so fully manifested, is with all humble thankfulness acknowledged by us. And professing our Loyalty to Yor Sacred Matie with all Sincerity, and resolving by the grace of God to use the Liberty so given to us with that moderation & peaceableness that Yor Maty may not have cause to repent the favour afforded to us

1. Ejected from Stretford, Lancashire, 1663.

therein: We are humble Peticoners to Your Sacred Matie, that in pursuance thereof, yor Matie would be gratiouly pleased to Allow & License Mr Henry Newcome¹ Mr in Arts (being of the Presbyterian persuasion) Our former Minister in this Place, To exercise his Ministerial function amongst us; And that the House of the said Mr Newcome hired for that purpose situate in Manchester may be the Place allowed for their Meeting.

For which Royall Favour to the sayd Mr Newcome & Us
Yor Maties most Humble Peticoners shall ever pray &c.

Joseph Werden.	Rich Meare.
James Hilton.	Mich Broxton.
Samll Wooliner.	John Alexander.
Robert Diggles.	Robert Hill.
Edw. Lyddall.	Matt Greaves.
John Wollon.	Caleb Broadhead.
	Thomas Bayly.
	Thomas Evans.

V. STATE PAPERS DOMESTIC CAR. II. 321 p. 26.

To the Kings most Excellent Mai:tie
The humble petition of severall of the Inhabitants of the parish of Oldham in the Countie of Lancaster on the behalf of themselves and others.

Humbly sheweth

That wee doe with all humble gratefulnesse acknowledge yor Mai:ties Grace and favour to us, expressed in yor Late declaration of March 15th 167 $\frac{1}{2}$ wherein you are gratiouly pleased to declare that you will from tyme to tyme Allow a sufficient Number of places, as they shall bee desired in all parts of this kingdome for the use of such as doe not Conforme to the Church of England, to meet and assemble in: In order to theire publique Worship and devotion And will approve teachers for such Congregations suspendinge the execution of all penall Lawes in matters Ecclesiasticall against them. In pursuance whereof wee doe with all humilitie present this our petition to yor dread Mai:tie That you would gratiouly please to Allow a Barne belonginge to Robte Wylde of Heaside aforesaid in the said parish of Oldham: for the place of yor humble petition^{rs} and others assembling in order to theire publique Worship and devotion: And that Robte Constantine² Mr in Arts, of the presbyterian perswasion and formerly Minister of Oldham aforesaid may bee Approved and Lycensed to Exercise his Ministeriall Function there: Wherein yor Maitie will Lay A new obligation upon yor petition^{rs} continually to pray for yor Maities Long and prosperous Raigne

James Huckley
James Russell (?)
Tho Cheetam.
Samuel Chetham.
Myles Greave.
James Wylde.
Thomas Wylde.
Robert Wylde.
Hen Wylde.

VI. STATE PAPERS DOMESTIC CAR. II. 320 p. 297.

To the King's most Excellent Majestie the humble Addresse and petition of William Yates, Robert Whittaker, Charles Sagar, John Hey, John Waddington, Richard Lawson, Thomas Baily, Matthias

1. Ejected 1662.

2. Ejected 1662. Succeeded by Mr. Walworth.

Tailour, Abraham Haworth and William Sellars inhabitants within the Hundred of Blackburn in the County of Lancaster; As also of Michael Reader, John Brook, James Kirshaw, Nathaneal Whaywell, Edward Hamer, Fancis Norbury, Thomas Thomason and John Wood inhabitants within the Hundred of Salford in the County aforesaid.

Humbly sheweth

That your Majesty's petitioners doe most thankfully acknowledge your Majesty's Royall indulgence to such as cannot Conform to the Church of England, expressed in your Majesty's gracious Declaration, bearing date Mar. 15 167½; professing also with all sincerity and alacrity that wee will use the sayd Liberty soe given, with all moderation, peaceablenesse and Loyalty to your Majesty and government.

Most humbly pray that (in pursuance of your Majesty's sayd declaration) your Majesty would bee graciously pleased to allow and Licence Mr Thomas Jollie¹ minister of the gospell of the congregationall perswasion to exercise his ministeriall Function among us; and (in regard of the destitute condition of the countrey and the dispersed habitations of your Majesty's petitioners) that the house of Richard Sagar called Slade, the house of Richard Cotham called Sparth, the house of Robert Whittaker called Healy, and the house of the sayd Mr Jollie at Wymond-houses, being in the hundred of Blackburn aforesayd, may bee the places allowed for meeting according to your Majesty's sayd declaration, your Majesty's petitioners doe also most humbly pray, that Mr Thomas Key minister of the gospell of the Congregationall perswasion may bee allowed and Licenced to exercise his ministeriall Function among us; and for the causes aforesayd that the house of Francis Norbury in Entwistle the house of John Wood in Taltington both in the Hundred of Salford, in the sayd County and the house of John Harwood in Hoddsden in the Hundred of Blackburn in the sayd County may bee the places allowed for meeting according to your Majesty's sayd declaration

For the which Royall favour to the sayd Mr Jollie Mr Key and your most humble petitioners, they shall according to their bounden duty ever pray for your Majesty &c.

VII. STATE PAPERS DOMESTIC CAR. II. 320 p. 295.

To the Kings most Excellent majesty.

The humble Addresse & Petition of Some of ye inhabitants of the Township of Tockholne within the Parish of Blackburn, & of the Township of Withnell within the Parish of Lealand in the County of Lancaster in the name of themselves & others of the same places.

Humbly sheweth

That yor majesties loyall subjects do with all thankfulnes acknowledge yor majesties Royall Grace & favor in yor majesties Declaracon of the 15 of March 167½ Granting liberty to such as cannot in all things Conform to the Church of England as it is now Established And wee are humble Petitioners to yor Sacred Majestie yt in pursuance thereof yor majesty would bee Graciously pleased to allow and license Mr John Harvie (Mr in Artes one of the Presbyterian persuasion) to the exercise of his ministry amongst us;

And yt the meeting-house in Tockholne erected by the inhabitants for or convenience being all of us far distant from or parish Churches may be allowed for the place of or assembling in order to or publick worship & devotion. By wch yor majesties Royall favor to the said Mr Harvie & or selves yor majestie will lay upon yor poor subjects the greatest obligations. & Wee do prmisse by the Grace of God so to use this yor majesties Grace and indulgence as yt yor majesty may have no Cause to repent this favor on or account.

And yor majesties most humble petitioners shall ever pray For your majesties long life & prosperous raign over us.

Tho: Crichlow.
James Marsden.
Ralph Walmsley.
William Crichlow.
Richard Aspden.
Thomas Ainsworth.
John Walmsley.
Richard Walmesley.
John Fishwick.
Thomas Dowhurst.
Richard Dewart.
Thomas Halliwell.

VIII. STATE PAPERS DOMESTIC CAR. II. 320 p. 251.

To his most excellent matie

The humble peticon of severall of the Inhabitants of the parish of Winwicke in the Countie pallatine of Lancaster in the name of themselves and sundry others.

Humbly sheweth

That your maties Indulgence expressed in your maties Royall Declaration of March 15th 72 To such as cannot conforme in all things to the Church of England as it is now established is with all humble thankfullnes acknowledged by us and professinge and promiseinge (by the assistance of God) our constant and unfeigned Loyalty to your sacred matie. And that wee will endeavour soe to use the Liberty allowed us that your matie may not have Cause to repent of your Royall favour afforded unto us.

Your petitioners most humbly beseech and supplicate your sacred matie that in pursuance thereof yor matie would be gratiouly pleased to allow and lycence Mr William Aspinwall minister of the Gospell and of the perswasion comonly called presbyterian to exercise his ministeriall function amongst us And that the outhouseinge of Richard Birchall of the said parish of Winwick may bee the place of our assemblinge for our publick worshipp and devotion.

And yor petitioners shall cheerfully and cordially (as in duty bound) ever pray for your Majesties longe and prosperous Reigne &c.

John Gleave.
Richard Birchall.
James Bate.
John Norman.
Thomas Widdowes.
John Bate.
Tho: Ellam.

1. Wm. Aspinwall was minister of Maghull 1648, and was ejected from Mattersey Notts, in 1660.

APPENDIX VI

The following are drafts of the several forms of licences issued to non-conformists, according to the provisions of the declaration. The first is for a teacher of a definite congregation, the second for a teacher of no fixed church, the third a licence for a building. (S.P. Dom. Car II 320 pp. 10 & 17):—

I. TEACHER OF A CERTAINE CONGREGATION.

Charles by the Grace of God, King of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c. To all Mayors, Bayliffs, Constables, and other Our Officers and Ministers, Civil and Military whom it may concern, Greeting.

In pursuance of Our Declaration of ye 15 of March 167½ Wee do hereby permitt and license . . . to be a teacher of ye Congregacon allowed by Us in . . . for ye Use of such as doe not conforme to ye Church of England who are of ye Perswasion commonly called . . . With further license to him ye said . . . to teach in any other place licensed and allowed by Us, according to Our sd Declaration.

Given at Our Court at Whitehall ye . . . day of . . . in ye 24th year of Our Reign, 1672.

By His Majesties Command.

II. TEACHER IN GENERAL AND AT LARGE.

Charles by the Grace of God &c,

In pursuance of Our Declaration of ye 15 of March 167½ Wee doe hereby permitt and license . . . of ye Perswasion commonly called . . . to be a Teacher and to teach in any Place licensed and allowed by Us, according to our said Declaration.

Given &c.

III. YE PLACE.

Charles by the Grace of God &c.

In Pursuance of Our Declaration of ye 15 of March 167½ Wee have allowed and wee doe hereby allow of . . . to b^a a Place for ye Use of such as doe not conforme to ye Church of England, who are of ye perswation Commonly called . . . to meet and assemble in, in order to their Publick Worship and Devotion, and all and singular Our Officers and Ministers, Eccticall Civil and Military, whom it may concerne, are to take due notice hereof, and they and every one of them are hereby strictly charged and required to hinder any Tumult or Disturbance, and to Protect them in their said Meetings and Assemblies.

Given &c

APPENDIX VII

A full list is here given of the licences for persons and places, granted in accordance with the provisions of the declaration of indulgence. Of the original licences, the only ones known to be extant are:—

Lancashire	For Peter Seddon's house at Outwood, in the parish of Prestwick.
	For a room or rooms in the Court House at Warrington.
	For a room or rooms in the house of John Angier of Manchester parish.
Middlesex	For the Presbyterian Meeting in Monkwell Street.
Northumberland	For a room or rooms in the house of George Bendal, of Newcastle-on-Tyne.
Yorkshire	For the Rev. Oliver Heywood of Northowram.

BEDFORDSHIRE

1. Nathaniel Alcock	House of John Tingey, Ford End.....Cong.
2. John Allen	House of Elizabeth King, Radwell.....Cong. House of Widow Read, Steventon
3. Isaac Bedford	His House, Clifton .....Ind.
4. Edward Bent	House of George Pridden, Edworth ...Cong.
5. John Bunyan (Bunyan).	House of Josias Roughead, Bedford...Cong.
6. Samuel Clarke	House of Thomas Bryan, Leighton Budezzart .....Presbyt.
7. Thomas Cooper	House of William Finden, Okeley ...Cong.
8. Nehemiah Coxe	House of Sarah Tomkins, Maulden ...Cong.
9. William Cradocke	House of John Conquest, Wilden .....Cong.
10. John Donne	His House, and that of George Fowler, Kaishow (Keysoe) .....Cong.
11. John Fenne	House of William Man, Stagedon (Stagsden) .....Cong.
12. Samuel Fenne	House of William Maxey, Haimes (Hawnes) .....Cong.
13. Stephen Hawthorne	His House, Turvey .....Cong.
14. Simon Haynes	His house in Benehurst (Bolnehurst)...Cong.
15. John Hind	His house at Fenlake, Cardington...Presbyt.
16. Edward Isaac	House of Gilbert Ashley, Godling- ton (Goldington) .....Cong.
17. William Jarvis	His own house at Ridgemont, and that of George Palmer, Cranfield...Cong.
18. Thomas Kent	House of William Arms, Cranfield.....Cong.
19. Stephen Kilbey	Shefford .....Baptist.
20. James Mee	His house, Deane .....Presbyt.
21. Daniel Negoos	House of Robert Clare, Pavenham.....Cong.
22. Thomas Richards	His house, Kaishere (Keysoe) .....Presbyt.
23. John Senester (Sewster).	House of John Baxter, Kempston .....Cong.
24. John Whiteman, of General Cardington	Barn of Francis Whiteman, Cardington.....Cong.
25. John Wright	The Lakehouse Barn, Blunham .....Cong.

BERKSHIRE

1. Simon Barrett, of Lamborne General Presbyt.
2. Samuel Birch His house, Shilton Presbyt.
3. William Brice Maidenhead Presbyt.
4. Thomas Chesman His house, East Ilsley parish Presbyt.
5. John Clarke His house, Shabbury (Shalbourn) ... Presbyt.
6. Richard Comyn His house, Chosly (Cholsey)..... Presbyt.
- Richard Comin House of Austin Cooke, town of Wanting (Wantage) Presbyt.
7. John Coomes House of (Katherine) Pecke, Abing-
don Anabap.
8. Edward Fanner His house, Newbury Presbyt.
9. Christopher Fowler House of Griffith Bubby, Reading...Presbyt.
10. Edward Gillett House of James Jeffrey, Cookham...Anabap.
11. Thomas Gregory House of Philip Allen, Upton Cong.
12. John Hartcliffe His house, New Windsor Presbyt.
13. Jeremiah Jues, of Reading General Anabap.
14. Robert Kent (Keat) House of Aaron Jones, Wantage ...Presbyt.
15. John Kem House of Richard Cox, Walling-
ford Baptist.
16. Richard King Reading Presbyt.
17. Dr. Henry Langley His house, Tubney parish Presbyt.
18. John Man House of (Katherine) Pecke, Abing-
John Man, of Long-
worth, Oxford-
shire (Berks)
19. Silvester Marchant,
of Appleton, Oxford-
shire (Berks) General Baptist.
20. Nicolas Palmer House of Jane Price, New Windsor..Presbyt.
21. Edward Perkins House of Elizabeth Haw, Woking-
ham Presbyt.
22. Benjamin Perkins His house at Wokingham Presbyt.
23. Daniel Roberts His house, Reading Anabap.
24. William Ruthey House of James Jeffrey, Cookham ...Anabap.
25. John Sayer, of Hack-
bourne (Hagbourne) ...General Presbyt.
26. Edward Stennet His house, Wallingford Baptist.
27. Bartholomew Tull His house, Wantage Presbyt.
28. Benjamin Woodbridge..Town Hall, Newbury Presbyt.
29. Thomas Worden¹.....House of William Brockman, Hinton...Cong.

BUCKINGHAMSHIRE

1. Robert Bennet Wad(d)esden Presbyt.
2. John Biscoe His house, West Wickham (Wycombe)..Cong.
3. James Gedney, of Old Buckingham General Indep.
4. Jeromie Gregorie His own house, Little Marlow
5. (John) Gibbs House of Robert Seabrooke, Astwood..Cong.
6. John Gybbs His house at Newport Pagnell.....Presbyt.
7. William Hensemman House or barn of Joseph Kent,
Olney Presbyt.
8. John Mariott His house in Aston Presbyt.
9. George Martin House of Edmund Carter, Stony
Stratford Presbyt.

1. Also entered under Worcestershire.

10. Rowland StedmanHouse of Samuel Clerke, WinchendenPresbyt.
11. John RitchHis house at WycombeCong.
12. George SwinbowHis house at AmershamPresbyt.
13. George SwinnochGuie's house, Great Wickham (Wycombe)Presbyt.
14. Thomas TaylorHis house, Wickham (Wycombe)Anabap.
15. Edward TerryHouse of Widow Anne Fleetwood, Chalfont St. GilesCong.
16. John TroughtonHouse of William Burnard, CaversfieldPresbyt.

CAMBRIDGESHIRE

1. Luke AstwoodHis house, GamlingayPresbyt.
2. Thomas Auston, of Meldreth (or Thomas Autrin)GeneralCong.
3. William BirchallHis house, Wentworth, Isle of ElyPresbyt.
4. William Blackburne (or Blackborne), of ElyGeneralAnabap.
5. Robert ColeHouse of William Cranford, OverAnabap.
6. Abraham Coe, StrethamGeneralAnabap.
7. Samuel CorbynHouse of Elizabeth Petit, near Green Street, CambridgeCong.
8. James DayPlace called the Kitchen, in high Dyke, at March, in the Isle of Ely, Ockington (Oakington)Cong.
9. Samuel FairclothChippenhamCong.
10. Edward Hancock, Willbram (Wilbram) MagnaGeneralAnabap.
11. George Hare, of Chattrey (Chat-teris), Isle of ElyGeneralPresbyt.
12. Francis HolcroftHouse of Job Hall, Bridge Street, CambridgeCong.
13. William Homerston, HarstonGeneralAnabap.
14. William HuntHis house, Sutton, Isle of ElyPresbyt.
15. Thomas LockeHouse of Widow Evans, Meldred (Meldreth)Cong.
16. Lancelot ManingHis house, WisbechCong.
17. Benjamin Metcalfe, MelbourneGeneralAnabap.
18. Joseph OddeyHouse of Job Hall, Bridge Street, CambridgeCong.
19. Edmond Smyth, MarchGeneralAnabap.
20. Giles Taylor, TrumpingtonGeneralAnabap.
21. Thomas Taylor, WisbechGeneralAnabap.
22. John ThorogoodHis house, Lytheington (Litlington ?)Cong.
23. John WaiteHis house in ToftPresbyt.
24. Thomas Waller, Swaffham PriorGeneralAnabap.
25. William Walsham, of MarchGeneralCong.

CHESHIRE

1. Andrew Barnett His house, As(t)bury Presbyt.
2. Samuel Bowden House of William Browne, Stockport, Kent (Cheshire) Anabap.
3. John Brereton His house at Castlehill, Bosden Presbyt.
4. Robert Burch Wenslow Indep.
5. Thomas Burroughes His house, Malpas Presbyt.
6. Joseph Coapel House of Christopher Hoford, Glosstre (? Goostrey) Presbyt.
7. James Cokayne House called Utkindon, Tarporley Cong.
8. William Cooke House called the Whitefriars, Chester Presbyt.
9. Wm. Cooke House of Anthony Henthorne, Chester. Cong.
10. Robert Fogg House of John King, Nantwich Presbyt.
11. John Garside Marksfield Presbyt. General at Mottram.
12. John Garson House of Edward Skelerne, Goscworth (Gawsworth) Presbyt.
13. William Glendall His house, Chester Presbyt.
14. Ralph Hall His house, Grange Lane, Chester. Presbyt. His house, We(a)verham.
15. Thomas Harrison, of Chester General Indep.
16. Hugh Henshaw His house, Knotford (Knutsford)....Presbyt.
17. John Jolly House of Mr. Hyde, Northbury Presbyt.
18. William Jones House of Mrs. Booth, Chester Presbyt.
19. James Lawton House of John Sidebotham, Stockport Presbyt.
20. Thomas Leadbeater ... His house, Sandbach Presbyt.
21. Peter Leigh His house, Knutsford Presbyt.
22. Adam Martendale House of Humphrey Peacock, Ros(t)herne Presbyt.
23. George Moxon His house in As(t)bury parish Cong.
24. James Ravenshaw His house in Wibunbury parish Presbyt.
25. Richard Steeles, of Barthomley General Presbyt.
26. James Sutton His house, Stockport Presbyt.
27. Francis Shelmerdine ... His house, Northeren (Northenden)....Presbyt.
28. James White House of George Hammett, Monk's Cop(pe)n(h)all Cong.
29. John Wilson House of Catherine Booth, Chester. Presbyt. Houses of Catherine Booth in Northgate Street, and Dame Harvey, Chester.

CORNWALL

1. Joseph Allen, of Penkivell General Presbyt.
2. Richard Batten His house, Enidor Presbyt.
3. John Cambridge His house, Mylor parish Presbyt.
4. Solomon Caswell His own house, St. Germans Presbyt.
5. John Cawbridge House of Widow Trelawdwy, Penryn Presbyt.
6. Henry Hammack (Flammack) House of William Hammack (Flammack), Goonrawson Presbyt.
7. Roger Flammack His house, Guendron Presbyt.
8. William Froise His house, Bodmin Presbyt.

1. Also entered under Staffordshire.

9. Joseph Halsey House of Thomas Harvey, Man-
carrow, parish of St. Michael
Penchivell (Penkevil) Presbyt.
10. Thomas Hancock His house, Marwell (Marval) parish. Presbyt.
11. John Herring His house, South Petherwin Presbyt.
12. Gaspar Hickes, of
 Landrake General Presbyt.
13. Robert Jagoe House of William Penalarick,
 He(l)ston Presbyt.
14. William Knapman His house, Padstow Presbyt.
15. John Lanckford
 (Langford) House of James Treahayles, Rede-
 roth (Redruth) Presbyt.
 House of Peter Clarke, Falmouth.
16. Stephen Lobb Trewoder House in Kenwyn, and
 Falmouth House in Mylor Presbyt.
17. William Oliver, of
 Dutson, Launceston ..General Presbyt.
18. Theophilus Tincombe ..His house, Lostwithiel Presbyt.
19. William Tomes His house, Saltash Presbyt.
20. William Trevithick His house, St. Eval parish Presbyt.
21. John Tuchin, of Foy ..General Presbyt.
22. Otho Whitehorne His house at Lower Trevethan,
 St. Mervin Presbyt.
23. Jonathan Wills,
 Helligan General Presbyt.
24. Robert Wine General Presbyt.

CUMBERLAND

1. Simon Atkinson House of William Sanderson,
 Heskett Cong.
2. Nathaniel Burnam, General Presbyt.
 of Branton (Brampton)
3. John Davy House of Reginald Walton, Alston
 Moor Cong.
4. Gawin Eaglesfield His house, De(a)ram Indep.
5. Benjamin Larkham His house at Hames Hill, Bride-
 kirk Presbyt.
6. Giles Nicholson, of
 Kirkoswald General Cong.
7. Anthony Sleigh House of John Noble, Greystock Presbyt.

DERBYSHIRE

1. William Bagshaw, of
 Glossote (Glossop).....General Presbyt.
2. William Bagshaw House of George Shert, Chapel-on-
 le-Frith Presbyt.
3. William Bagshaw,
 Foard General Presbyt.
4. John Barrett His house in Sandiacre Presbyt.
5. Henry Bee, of
 Stapenhill General Cong.
6. John Beebee House of William Ash, Tid(e)s well. Presbyt.
7. John Bennet His house, Over parish Presbyt.
8. William Blyth His house, parish of Norton Presbyt.
9. Richard Boothhouse ...His house, Derby Cong.
10. Samuel Burne Derby Presbyt.
11. John Carle (or Carte)...His house, Dronfield Presbyt.

12. Richard Chantry His house, Smithsby Presbyt.
 13. Samuel Charles House of John Bromiley, Chester-
 field Presbyt.
 14. Luke Cranwell House of Samuel Ward, Derby Presbyt.
 15. Timothy Fox His house at Ticknall Presbyt.
 16. John Hieron (or Hiron). His house, Losco(e) Presbyt.
 17. Joseph Hieron, of
 Loscoe General Presbyt.
 18. Samuel Hieron His house, Hazlewood Presbyt.
 19. Thomas Hill, of
 Cau(l)dwell General Presbyt.
 20. Daniel Kinge House of William Crees, Derby Cong.
 21. Manassah Kinge House of John Burroughs, Derby Cong.
 22. Daniel Marhan, of
 Derby General Independ.
 23. Robert Molesey Barn of John Bothames, Cloug-
 head Presbyt.
 24. Joseph Moore (or
 More) His house, Hopton Presbyt.
 25. Robert More House of Gabriel Wayne, Cut-
 horpe Presbyt.
 26. Robert Motley, of
 Armescraft General Presbyt.
 27. Samuel Nowell House of John Rockhardson, Newton Presbyt.
 28. John Oatfield House of Thomas Sleigh, Derby Presbyt.
 29. Samuel Oatefield, of
 Alpherton (Alfreton) General Presbyt.
 30. Samuel Ogden House of Thomas Sanders, Little
 Ireton Presbyt.
 31. Thomas Ogle¹ His house, Chesterfield Cong.
 32. John Otefield House of John Spademan, Road-
 nook Presbyt.
 33. Robert Seddon Langley Presbyt.
 34. Daniel Shelmerdyne
 (or Shelmerdine) His house, Twyford Presbyt. and Independ.
 35. Samuel Shelmardine House of Henry Wigley, Cromford Presbyt.
 36. Jonathan Stanforde House of Richard Boothone, Derby Presbyt.
 (or Staniforth) House of (Francis) Cockaine,
 Chad(de)sden Presbyt.
 37. Timothy Stanforde
 (or Staniforth) House of Francis Cockaynd, Chus-
 den (Chaddesden) Presbyt.
 38. John Stanley House of William Ash, Tideswell Presbyt.
 39. Thomas Swettnam,
 of Derby General Presbyt.
 40. Walter Wolsley His house, Ranson Cong.
 41. John Wood His house, parish of Norton Presbyt.

DEVONSHIRE

1. Bartholomew Ash-
 wood, of Axminster General Independ.
 2. Robert Atkins, of
 Exeter General Presbyt.
 3. John Balster House of Humphry Bawden, Uff-
 culme Presbyt.
 4. John Bartlet House of Gabriel Beale, Bideford Presbyt.
 5. William Bartlet, of
 Devon General Cong.

¹ Also entered under Somerset.

6. Benjamin Berry ¹ , of Exeter	General	Presbyt.
7. Henry Berry of Credition	General	Presbyt.
8. John Berry, Barn- staple	General	Presbyt.
9. Richard Bickle	House of Samuel Cabell, Buckfast- leigh	Presbyt.
10. George Bindon ¹	Houses of Nicholas Stook and Edward Searle, Culmstock	Presbyt.
11. Richard Binmore	His house at Woodland	Presbyt.
12. Jonathan Bowden, of Morton	General	Presbyt.
13. John Broadbeare, of Dunkeswell	General	Presbyt.
14. James Burdwood	His house called Hexdown, Big- bury	Presbyt. and Indep.
15. Joseph Callet, of Exeter	General	Presbyt.
16. Robert Carte	House of Mary Kendall, Crofton,... Dawlish	Presbyt.
17. Joseph Chadwick, Cruse Morchard	General	Presbyt.
18. Robert Collins	His own house, St. Mary Ottery	Presbyt.
19. John Crispin	House of Samuel Trist, Brent	Cong.
20. William Crompton, of Exeter	General	Presbyt.
21. Thomas Daunsy	House of John Blackmore, parish of Sheldon	Presbyt.
22. Anthony Downe, of Northam	General	Presbyt.
23. Mark Down, of Exeter	General	Presbyt.
24. Edward Ebdine	House of Dame Drake, Topsham	Cong.
25. Thomas Egbeare	House of Gregory Millard, Ashburton .Cong.	
26. Lewis Facy, of Werrington	General	Presbyt.
27. William Facey	House of Martin Dunsford, Tiverton .Anabap.	
28. John Flavell	His house in Dartmouth	Cong.
29. Richard Farrand	His house, Musbury	Presbyt.
30. Thomas Ford, of Exeter	General	Presbyt.
31. John Gay, Barnstaple	General	Presbyt.
32. Robert Gaylard, of Exeter	General	Presbyt.
33. John Gidley, of Exeter	General	Presbyt.
34. James Haddrige	At Halberton	Presbyt.
35. John Hanmer	General	Presbyt.
36. Jonathan Hanmer, of Devon	General	Presbyt.
37. Lewis Hatch (or (Hacche)	House of Robert Hacche (Hatch), Saterley	Presbyt.
38. Heron, of Devon	School-house, Honiton	Presbyt.
39. Richard Herring, of new Exeter	General	Presbyt.
40. John Hickes	His house in Kingsbridge	Presbyt.
41. John Hill, of Exeter	General	Presbyt.

1. Also entered under Somerset.

42. John Hodder	His house in Thornecombe	Presbyt.
43. John Homes	House of Thomas Parsons, Topsham	Cong.
44. Richard Hooper	His house at Bampton	Anabap.
45. John Hopping, of C(h)ristow	General	Presbyt.
46. Obadiah Hughes, of Plymouth	General	Presbyt.
47. Edward Hunt, of Exeter	General	Presbyt.
48. Edward Hutchenson	House of Samuel Pierce, Exeter	Cong.
49. Clement Jackson	Brent	Cong.
50. Nathan Jacob, of Ugbrough (Ugborough)	General	Presbyt.
51. Christopher Jelinger of Marlton	General	Presbyt.
52. John Jurdaine, near Newton	General	Presbyt.
53. John Kempster, of Dartmouth	General	Presbyt.
54. John Knight, of Crediton	General	Presbyt.
55. Thomas Mall	House of Robert Squire, South Molton	Cong.
56. Nicholas Mallare (Mallery)	His house, South Molton House of William May, Molland.	Presbyt.
57. Thomas Martyn	Near Charles Church, Plymouth	Cong.
58. John Maudit, of St. Mary Ottery	General	Presbyt.
59. Thomas Maynard	House of John Breedon, Sam(p)- ford	Presbyt.
60. Samuel Mayne, of Holsworthy	General	Presbyt.
61. John More, of St. Mary Ottery	General	Presbyt.
62. George Mortimer	General	Presbyt.
63. John Mortimer, of Exeter	General	Presbyt.
64. Daniel Morton	House of John Veale, Hatherleigh	Presbyt.
65. George Nicholson	House of John Knight, Broad- tewbury (Broadhembury)	Presbyt.
66. John Nosworthy, of Mannaton	General	Presbyt.
67. Thomas Palk, of Ogwell	General	Presbyt.
68. Anthony Palmer, of Barnstaple	General	Presbyt.
69. Edward Par	His house in St. Mary Ottery	Presbyt.
70. Oliver Peard	House of Joseph Andrews, Barn- staple	Cong.
71. William Pearse, of Dunsford	General	Presbyt.
72. Adam Pierce	His house, Exeter	Cong.
73. Theophilus Polwheile	House of Peter Bere, Tiverton	Cong.
74. John Pope, of Crediton	General	Presbyt.
75. Thomas Powell	Of Exeter	Indep.
76. John Quicke, of Plymouth	General	Presbyt.
77. Alexander Robinson, of Exeter	General	Presbyt.

78. John Rowe, of Shobrook	General	Presbyt.
79. Richard Saunders, near Honiton	General	Presbyt.
80. Saunders	House of William Wood, Tiverton...	Presbyt.
81. John Serle, of Plin- ton (Plympton)	General	Presbyt.
82. Nicholas Sheerwill, of Plymouth	General	Presbyt.
83. John Sims, near Ashburton	General	Presbyt.
84. James Small, of Credy by Crediton ..	General	Presbyt.
85. Richard Smith, of Salcombe	General	Presbyt.
86. Francis Sourton	School-house at Honiton	Presbyt.
Francis Sourton, of Powderham	General	Presbyt.
87. Ralph Spragge, near Honiton	General	Presbyt.
88. Robert Stead, of Dartmouth	General	Anabap.
89. Samuel Stodden	House of Andrew Holwil, Wood- bury	Presbyt.
90. Wm. Stooke	General	Presbyt.
91. Lewis Stuckley	House of Clement Lake, Crediton.....	Cong.
	House of Nicholas Savery, Exeter.....	Cong.
92. Michael Taylor, of Tavistock	General	Presbyt.
93. Michael Taylour, of Holswothy	General	Presbyt.
94. John Taylor	House of Abraham Randall, Staver- ton	Presbyt.
95. John Taylour, of Pyworthy	General	Presbyt.
96. Edmund Tooker, of Devon	General	Cong.
97. Edward Tooker	Anton, near West Alvington	Presbyt.
98. Thomas Trescott, of Exeter	General	Presbyt.
99. Thomas Tross, Exeter..	General	Presbyt.
100. John Wakely	His house, Thorncomb	Presbyt.
101. Thomas Wellman	House of Ralph Spragg, Shutt (Shute) parish	Cong.
102. John Wheatley	His house, Uplo(w)man	Indep.
103. Francis Whiddon	His house at Totnes	Presbyt.
104. Thomas Whitehorne ..	His house, Wolfsworthy (Wool- fardisworthy)	Presbyt.
105. Robert Woolcomb, Chidley	General	Presbyt.
106. Josias Wyett	General	Presbyt.
107. Bartholomew Yeo, of Hatherley	General	Presbyt.
108. William Yeo, of Newton Bushell ...	General	Presbyt.

DORSETSHIRE

1. Henry Backaller
- House of Sarah Kerridge, Wotton
Fitzpaine
- Presbyt.
2. Samuel Ball
- House of John Collins, Morden ...
- Presbyt.

3. Robert BartletHouse of James Hanne, Over
ComptonCong.
4. William BenHouse of Philip Stansby, Dorchester...Cong.
5. John Price (Brice)House of Eleanor Floyer, White-
churchPresbyt.
6. Edward Buckler, of
BradfordGeneralPresbyt.
7. Josuah ChurchillHis house at Dorchester and that of
Benjamin Devenish, Fordington...Cong.
8. Ambrose Clare, of
BeaminsterGeneralPresbyt.
9. William ClarkeHouse of Rebecca Hastings,
Winfruite (Winfrith) parishCong.
10. William Craine, of
BeaminsterGeneralPresbyt.
11. Edward DammerHouse of John Bingham, Stickland...Cong.
12. John DevenishHis house, PulhamPresbyt.
13. John DibmanOf DorchesterBaptist.
14. Richard DowneHouse of John Golding, Bridport....Cong.
15. Edward DownerHouse of Henry Williams, Puddle-
townCong.
16. Jeremiah DryHouse of Robert Cartisse,
South PerrottBaptist.
17. William Eastman
of ShaftesburyGeneralPresbyt.
18. Jeremiah FrenchHis house at Bradford AbbasPresbyt.
19. Francis GieOf DorchesterBaptist.
20. William GilbertHis house at Bothenwood.....Presbyt.
21. John GillHis house at HawkchurchPresbyt.
22. John G(r)offeHouse of Ruth Rokeclife, Stal-
bridgePresbyt.
23. James HalletHouse of Richard Woolfryers,
Winterbourne KingstonCong.
24. James HalletHouse of John Dammer, Cerne.....Presbyt.
25. George HammondHouses of John West and John
Marsh, DorchesterPresbyt.
26. Peter InceHis house at ThornhillPresbyt.
27. William IrelandHouse of Robert Cartisse, South
PerrottBaptist.
28. Peter JuleChildockford (Chideockford)Baptist.
29. John Kerridge, of
Lime (Lyme)GeneralPresbyt.
30. John KingHis house, WimborneAnabap.
31. William (Mark) King...House of Joan Toop, (Maiden)
NewtonPresbyt.
32. Philip LambHis house at East MordenCong.
33. Henry MartinHis house at Tarrant Munckton....Presbyt.
34. Zachariah MayneHis house, DalwoodPresbyt.
35. John MaynardOf CorfeBaptist.
36. Thomas Miller¹Of HusheBaptist.
37. John MilwardHouse of George Milward, Farni-
combPresbyt.
38. William MintyThe Malthouse of Mr. Aire, Poole...Indep.
39. Thomas MooreHouse of Robert Alford, Stur-
minster NewtonPresbyt.
His house, Milton Abbas.
40. James OuslyHis house at Wotton Fitzpaine ...Presbyt.
41. Giles ParisHis house, ShaftesburyIndep.

1. Also entered under Somerset.

42. Henry Parsons House of Robert Dalliver, called
Swilcots, Abbotstoke Presbyt.
43. John Persons His house Blan(d)ford Anabap.
44. Humphrey Philips House of Catherine Chafe,
Sherborne Presbyt.
45. John Pinney His house in the parish of
Bettiscombe, and that of John
Brice in the parish of Marsh'od
(Marshwood) Presbyt.
46. James Rawson His house, Haselbury Presbyt.
47. Thomas Rowe (or Roe). His house at Wimborne Presbyt.
48. Ames Short His house, Lyme Presbyt.
49. John Short Lyme Presbyt.
50. George Thorne House of James Bud, Weymouth....Cong.
51. John Tucker His house, Marveyhall Presbyt.
52. Benjamin Walter(s) His house, Bradford Abbas.....Presbyt.
53. Benjamin Way House of William Hayden,
Dorchester Cong.
54. John White, of Morden. General Presbyt.
55. John Willis Beaminster Presbyt.
56. Timothy Sacheverill¹....His house at Winterburn Zelston...Presbyt.
57. Francis Bampfield General Nonconf.

DURHAM

1. Thomas Dixon His house, Durham Presbyt.
2. Joseph Gill, or
Stockton-on-Tyne,
Northumberland
(? Stockton-on-Tees,
Durham) General Cong.
3. Robert Lever His house, Brancepeth Presbyt.
4. John Lummock Bishopric of Durham Indep.
5. William Pell His house, Durham Presbyt.
6. Robert Pleasaunce His house, Bishop Auckland Presbyt.
7. John Rogers² House of Robert Nichoalson,
Darlington Presbyt.
8. Ralph Wickliffe House of William Warham, Sunder-
land Presbyt.
9. Thomas Wilson His house, Lampoley (Lamesley)...Presbyt.

ESSEX

1. John Agar (or Argor) ...His house, Copford Presbyt.
Mr. Haynes House, Copford, and
Zachary Damon's, Birch Magna.
2. Nathaniel Ball,
Nether Chissil
(Chishall) General Presbyt.
3. Nathaniel Ball His house, Epping Presbyt.
4. Samuel Bantoffe
(Bantoft) of Brain-
tree General Presbyt.
5. John Benson His house, Writtle Presbyt.
6. Benjamin Benton His house, Ham Presbyt.
7. John Bidly, White
Coyne (Colne) General Presbyt.
8. Robert Billis (or
Bilva) of Stebbing.....General Presbyt.
House of Hodge, Hanvill (? Haverhill)

1. Also entered under Wiltshire.

2. Also entered under Yorkshire.

9. William Blackmore ... His own house, Hornchurch Presbyt.
 10. Samuel Brinley, of Dedham General Presbyt.
 11. Joseph Browne, of Loughton General Presbyt.
 12. Samuel Buckler House of George White, Mainetry
 (?) Manningtree) Cong.
 13. Isaac Bugby His house, Brantery (?) Braintree) ... Cong.
 14. Lewis Callandrine His house, Greenstead Presbyt.
 15. Thomas Clarke of Dunmose (Dunmow) .. General Cong.
 16. Timothy Clarke His house, Rayne Presbyt.
 17. John Coale His house in Weathersfield Presbyt.
 18. Henry Coleman, of Great Easton General Presbyt.
 19. William Collins House of Anne Boreham, Widow at Matching Anabap.
 20. Samuel Deaken House of George Locksmith,
 Romford Presbyt.
 21. Robert Dodd His house, Sible Hedingham Presbyt.
 22. Eilson His house at Burntwood (Brent-
 wood) Presbyt.
 23. Matthew Ellison His house at the Grange, Little
 Coggeshall Presbyt.
 24. Erly His house at Koyles (Coyles) Presbyt.
 25. Giles Fermin Thomas Bryon's house at Redge-
 well Presbyt.
 26. Thomas Gilson, Weald. General Presbyt.
 27. Isaac Grandordge,
 of Black Postley
 (?) Notley) General Presbyt.
 28. John Harrison His house, Handon (?) Horndon) ... Presbyt.
 29. John Harrison His house in Pedmarsh Presbyt.
 30. John Havers His house at Stamborn Presbyt.
 31. Edward Kightly,
 Barking General Presbyt.
 32. Kitly His house, Abury (Aldborough ?)
 Hatch Presbyt.
 33. Thomas Lawrey His house at Coggeshall Cong.
 34. George Lisle House of Elizabeth Trew, Witham..Presbyt.
 His house at Witham.
 35. Henry Lukin Matching Cong.
 36. Thomas Milaway, of Coggeshall General Presbyt.
 37. John Oakes His house in Little Baddow Presbyt.
 38. John Overhead His house, Castle Henningham
 (Hedingham) Presbyt.
 39. Richard Rand House of Robert Maidston, Box-
 stead (Boxted) Cong.
 40. Nathaniel Ranew House of Mrs. Finch in Billericay...Presbyt.
 41. Daniel Ray His house, Redgewell (Ridgewell)...Presbyt.
 42. John Reeve His own house, Springfield Presbyt.
 43. John Reeve His house at Chelmsford Presbyt.
 44. John Sammes House of John Croe, Coggeshall Cong.
 45. Christopher Scott House of Robert Butler, Prittle-
 well Presbyt.
 46. Samuel Slater, of Walthamstow General Presbyt.
 47. William Stebb His house, Great Tey Cong.
 48. Owen Stockton House of Robert Howlett, St
 Martin's Lane, Colchester Indep.

49. Edmund Taylor	His house at Witham	Presbyt.
50. Edward Warren	His house and that of John Raynor, Colchester	Presbyt.
51. John Warren	Room or rooms in the house of Anne Parker, widow, Hatfield Regis	Cong.
52. Dr. Henry Wilkinson...	His house, Gosfield	Presbyt.
53. Willis	His house in Burntwood (Brent- wood)	Presbyt.
54. John Wilson	House of William Taylor, Little Hallingbury	Cong.
55. Christopher Wragg ...	His house in Little Waltham	Presbyt.
56. John Mardly, Weald ...	General	Presbyt.
57. John Yates	House of Jonathan Pritman, Theobalds	Cong.
58. Thomas Wadsworth ...	House of Jonathan Pritman, Theobalds	Presbyt.

GLOUCESTERSHIRE

1. John Badgett (Badger)..	House of Thomas Bishop, Longford	Cong.
2. John Chapman	His house, Rewerden (Ruardean)	Cong.
3. Henry Collet	His house, Tewkesbury	Cong.
4. William Davison	His house, Tewkesbury	Cong.
5. John Dunce (or Dunne).House of Giles Lawrence, B(o)erton..	Cong.	
6. Thomas Evans ¹	House of Widow Pegler, Nimp- field (Nymphsfield)	Baptist.
7. James Forbes	House of Samson Bacon, Gloucester...	Cong.
8. James Forbes	Barn of Charles Eliot, Stinchcombe...	Indep.
9. John Fox, of Marshfield	General	Presbyt.
10. Francis Fuller, of Bristol	General	Presbyt.
11. Andrew Jifford (Gifford), of Bristol...	General	Presbyt.
12. John Giles	His house, Dymock	Presbyt.
13. Enoch Gray, of Bristol	General	Cong.
14. Francis Ham	His house, Durston (Dursley)	Cong.
15. Edward Hancock	House of Samuel Wallington, Wotton-under-Edge	Presbyt.
16. Edward Hancock, Horfield	General	Presbyt.
17. Thomas Hardcastle, of Bitton	General	Presbyt.
18. Francis Harris	His house, Painswick, Herefordshire, (Gloucestershire)	Cong.
19. Elizeas Hatheway	His house, Gloucester	Cong.
20. Thomas Hemings, of Deerhurst	General	Cong.
21. William Hodges	House of Widow Hodges, Shipton	Presbyt.
22. John Humphreys	His house, Beckford	Presbyt.
23. Thomas Jennings, of Woollan (? Woodland)General	Presbyt.	
24. James Nobbs ²	His house, Horton	Anabap.
25. John Oates	Of Cirencester	Baptist.

1. Also entered under Breconshire.

2. Also entered under Wiltshire.

26. George Seele His house, Marshfield Presbyt.
 27. Thomas Skey His house, Tewkesbury Cong.
 28. John Skinner His house, Clonwell Cong.
 29. Jonathan Smith His house, Tedbury Cong.
 30. Thomas Smith His house, Hope Cong.
 31. Thomas Smith Outhouse of Thomas Bradley,
 Rurden (? Ruardean) Presbyt.
 32. Thomas Smith His house, Huntley Presbyt
 33. William Smith House of William Coombe Cong.
 34. Joshua Heed (Steed) ... His house, Cleeve Cong.
 35. John Thompson House of John Harris, Castle Street,
 Bristol Cong.
 36. William Troughton ... His house, Philip Street, Bristol Cong.
 37. William Troy His house, Od(d)ington Cong.
 38. John Ward House of Widow Rickett, Elington....Cong.
 39. Giles Watkins Of Cirencester Baptist.
 40. Samuel Webb, of
 Chipping Sodbury ... General Anabap.
 41. John Weekes House of John Loyde, St. James'
 Back, Bristol Presbyt.
 42. John Wilselye His house, Gloucestershire Presbyt.
 43. Thomas Worthan House of Henry Mousell, Wickwar...Presbyt.
 44. Samuel Winney His house, Glastry, Bristol Presbyt.

HAMPSHIRE

1. Michael Aldridge Of West Cowes Baptist.
 2. Richard Averie House of William Jones, Kingsclere..Presbyt.
 3. Richard Batchelour ... His house in the rectory of East-
 woodhay and Ashmansworth....Presbyt.
 4. Peter Behaut House of Roger Forest, Heeth
 (? Hythe) Cong.
 5. William Bicknell House of Henry Matthew, Alton ...Presbyt.
 6. James Brown His house at Lower Clatford Presbyt.
 7. Richard Bunny House of John Dozzell, Whitchurch.Anabap.
 8. Benjamin Burges House of Robert Reynolds, Ports-
 mouth, and Widow Haukesford,
 Gosport Presbyt.
 9. Isaac Chauney His house at Easton Town Presbyt.
 10. Richard Chidell, of
 Roade (Road),
 parish of Godshill,
 Isle of Wight General Presbyt.
 11. Henry Coxe,
 Southampton General Cong.
 12. Robert Elliott House of Jeffery Gray, Linnington
 (Lymington) Cong.
 13. John Goldwyer House of Edmund Young, Romsey...Presbyt.
 14. William Harden, of
 Southampton General Presbyt.
 15. John Harrison House of Thomas Bayly, Havant....Presbyt.
 16. William Houghton His house in Swannick (Swanwick)...Cong.
 17. John Kent His house in Upper Wallop Anabap.
 18. Richard King His house, Southampton Presbyt.
 19. Edward Knight His house, West Cowes Baptist.
 20. Walter Marshall His house, Southwick Cong.
 21. John Martyn House of Grace Byles, Yarmouth,
 Isle of Wight Independ.
 22. Francis Mence His house, Fareham Cong.
 23. John Pinkney His house in Longstock Presbyt.

24. John Ridge	House of Thomas Miller, Hayling Island	Presbyt.
25. Nathaniel Robinson ...	Houses of John Wheate and Thomas Phelps, Romsey	Cong.
	House of Anne Knight, widow, Southampton	Cong.
	His house in Southampton	Presbyt.
26. Andrew Ruell, of North Hayling	General	Presbyt.
27. Giles Say	His house in Southampton	Cong.
28. Thomas Sayer	Southampton	Presbyt.
29. John Smith, parish of St. Nicholas, I. of W.	General	Presbyt.
	His house, Castlehold, Isle of Wight	Cong.
30. Nicholas Smith	His house in Longparish	Cong.
31. Samuel Sprint	His house, Clatford, near Andover....	Cong.
32. James Terry	His house, Odiham	Presbyt.
33. Samuel Tomlins	House of Ann Complin, Winchester, and over the market place (house) there	Presbyt.
34. Robert Tu(t)chin	His house, Limington, Berks (Hants)	Presbyt.
35. Richard Upjohn	His house at Weston, near Southampton	Cong.
36. William Vouuden	House of William Sprigg, Emsworth.	Presbyt.
37. Thomas Warren	House of Clement Warren, Rumsey, Wilts (? Romsey, Hants)	Presbyt.
38. Humphrey Weaver	His house, Crundall	Presbyt.
39. Robert Webb	Harsley (Hursley)	Presbyt.
40. Stephen Webb	House of Mrs. Bradshaw, Farnborough	Presbyt.
41. Martin Wells	House of William Slater, Newport, Isle of Wight	Presbyt.
42. George Whitemarch ...	His house, Gosport	Cong.
43. James Wise ¹	Of West Cowes	Baptist.
44. Richard Worle	His house, Romsey	Cong.
45. John Yates	His house, Benstead (Binsted)	Cong.

HEREFORDSHIRE

1. William Bagley	His house, Lampwarding (Leint-wardine)	Presbyt.
2. John Farston	House of Joan Hull, Ledbury	Presbyt.
3. William Boyle	House of John Wild, Hereford	Presbyt.
4. Anthony Collier	His own house, Rosse	Presbyt.
5. Thomas Froysell	His house, Lainterdine (Leint-wardine)	Presbyt.
6. Richard Perkins	His house, Weston-under-Paineyard (Penyard)	Cong.
7. John Perston	His house, Colwall	Presbyt.
8. Edward Price	His house, Hereford	Cong.
9. George Primerose	His own house, Hereford	Presbyt.
10. George Primerose, of Tedston Delamere..	General	Presbyt.
11. Thomas Seaborne, of Hereford	General	Presbyt.

1. Perhaps the James Wise entered under Wiltshire.

12. Jonathan Smith His house, Rosse Cong.
13. Samuel Smith His own house, Hereford Presbyt.
14. Samuel Tracy His house, Clifford Priory Baptist.
15. William Woodward ... House of John Yapps, Orleton Presbyt.

HERTFORDSHIRE

1. Robert Collinson Of Pirton Baptist.
2. Nathaniel Eeles His house, Harpenden Cong.
3. John Foldoe, of
Chipping Barnet General Presbyt.
4. Jeremiah Froysell House of John Marsh, Garston Presbyt.
5. Thomas Gardiner House of Ralph Bayford, Little
Hadham Presbyt.
6. Hugh Glover His house in Bishop Stortford Presbyt.
7. John Kinge His house, Abbots Langley Presbyt.
8. Joseph Masters, of
Cheston (? Cheshunt).General Anabap.
9. Thomas Milway House of Widow Heath, Preston Cong.
10. John Payne House of George Holgate, Bishop
Stortford Presbyt.
11. Richard Roberts His house, Watford Presbyt.
12. James Rogers House of Sarah Adams, Hitchin Cong.
13. Oliver Scott House of Thomas Morice, Ashwell. Presbyt.
14. Thomas Silly Of Pirton Baptist.
15. John Spencer House of Anthony Spinage,
Cheston (? Cheshunt) Anabap.
16. Peter Sterry House of Richard Pemble, Little
Berkhampstead Presbyt.
17. Robert Tory Paul's Walden Presbyt.
18. Christopher Touler ... House of Thomas Polhill, Chesham
(? Cheshunt) Cong.
19. Thomas Vaux Of Pirton Baptist.
20. Francis Warham: House of Mr. Ewers, Punsborne Cong.

HUNTINGDONSHIRE

1. Nathaniel Broadshaw .. His house, Hemingford Presbyt.
2. Thomas Chapman House of Robert Stokely, Warboys. Anabap.
3. John Denne His house, St. Ives Anabap.
4. William Donne, of
Oldweston General Presbyt.
5. George Fowler House of John Cooke, Upthorpe.... Presbyt.
6. Thomas Gates His house, Ellington Anabap.
7. William Green, of
Fenstanton General Presbyt.
8. James Holledge His house, Kimbolton Cong.
9. Simond King His house, Long Orton (Overton)....Presbyt.
10. John Lacy House of Widow Weeden, Gormon-
chester (Godmanchester) Anabap.
11. Ralph Luke House of Thomas Welles, Medlew
(Midlow) Cong.
12. Oliver Mason House or barn of William Pashell(er),
Mouldsworth Cong.
13. Edmund Moyle House of Edmund Male, Fenny
Stanton Anabap.
14. Thomas Readman Bury Presbyt.
15. James Rogers House of John Haynes, Wo(r)n-
ditch Presbyt.

KENT

1. James Ayers House of Lady Vane, Fairlawns Cong.
2. James Skeete House of John Barber, Tenterden Indep.
3. Robert Beake Hall of Mr. Roper, parish of St. Dunstan, Canterbury Presbyt.
4. Nathaniel Berry (Barry). Outhouse of (John) Edwards, Dover Presbyt.
5. James Blackmore His house, Tenterden Anabap.
6. Samuel Burfett (Borfet) of Woolwich. General Presbyt.
7. Benjamin Bower House of (Rebecca) Morecock, Chatham Anabap.
8. Thomas Brand House of Lady Roberts, Cranbrook. Presbyt.
9. John Brice His own house and that of Francis Ligo, Beckenham Presbyt.
10. Edward Coppin His house, Bekesbourne Presbyt.
11. Francis Cornewall His house, Marden Anabap.
12. Edward Delamaine ... House of William Bowers, St. Mary Cray Baptist.
13. John Durant Almney Hall, Lonport, without Canterbury Cong.
14. Samuel French House of Richard Sighurst, Town Malling Presbyt.
15. John Garman House of Michael Hadlow, Wye Anabap.
16. Thomas Glover House of John Searle, Wye Anabap.
17. Richard Gunn House of Theophilus Beath, Cranbrook Anabap.
18. Richard Gyles, of Rolvenden General Presbyt.
19. George Hammond House of James Harding, Biddenden. Anabap.
20. Sam Hieron House of John Vigion, Molash Presbyt.
21. Richard Hobbs House of Joan Colemar (Coulmer or Coomer), Lower Deal Anabap.
Room in Samuel Taverner's house near the market place, Dover.
22. Edward Hyrst General Cong.
23. John Jacob General Cong.
24. Thomas Jarman House of Thomas Heretage, Marham (Mersham) parish Anabap.
25. Peter Johnson House of William Petkins, Mar-gate Presbyt.
26. Daniel Kingsnoth House of Thomas Hills, Charing ... Anabap.
27. Henry Kingsnoth House of Walter Gilham, Smarden. Anabap.
28. Richard Kingsnoth His house, Staplehurst Anabap.
29. Thomas Kingsnoth His house, Frittenden Anabap.
30. Daniel Kingston House of John Henicer, Lenham Baptist.
31. Robert Knight House of John Hopper, Headcorn.... Anabap.
32. Zachary Lee General Cong.
33. Norton Munden House of George Wadlow, Wye Anabap.
34. Charles Nicolls His house, Adisham Cong.
35. Henry Peene House of Thomas Barnes, Isle of Oxney Baptist.
36. Daniel Pointell (Poyntel) House of Peter Burrens, Staplehurst. Presbyt.
37. — Rathband House of Richard Day, Horsmonden Presbyt.
38. Nathaniel Row House of John Miller, Cranbrook... Anabap.
39. Matthew Sanders His house, Norgame Anabap.
40. Thomas Scott General Cong.

41. James SimondsHouse of Widow Porter at
Courtodge, LamberhurstCong.
42. James SkeeteHouse of John Barber, TenterdenIndep.
43. Henry SnoathHouse of Thomas Hooker, Bough-
tonAnabap.
44. — StockhouseHouse of James Hayes, Combe
Farm, GreenwichCong.
45. Comfort StarreHis house, SandwichCong.
46. John StonelHouse of Lady Boswell, Sewnock
(Sevenoaks)Presbyt.
47. Francis TaylorHall of Mr. Dunsmore, Grey
Friars, St. Peter's, Canterbury...Presbyt.
48. Thomas Terry, of
Middleton (? Milton)...GeneralBaptist.
49 Nicholas Thorowgoode .House of Mr. Buck, RochesterPresbyt.
His house, Canterbury.
50. Robert TraillHouse of William Love, Cran-
brookPresbyt.
51. Thomas VentresHall of Mr. Roper, parish of St.
Dunstan's, CanterburyCong
52. Nathaniel WilmottHouse of (Francis) Jeoffrey in
Darington and (Mrs.) Bunbury
in WyePresbyt.
53. William WorsleyHouse of John Paine, Hawkhurst...Baptist.

LANCASHIRE

1. John AngiersHis house, ManchesterPresbyt.
2. Samuel AngiersHouse of Jane Hide, Hideholle,
ManchesterPresbyt.
3. Peter AspinwallHouse of John Robinson, Ashton...Presbyt.
4. William AspinwallHouse of Richard Birchall,
WinwickPresbyt.
5. Richard AstyHouse of Susan Adams, Halter
St., BuryCong.
6. Peter Atkinson, of
Ellal (Ellel) Chapel ...His house, EllelPresbyt.
His house, CockerhamPresbyt.
7. William Baldwin, of
CainsnullGeneralPresbyt.
8. Roger Baldwin, of
Copall (Coppull)GeneralPresbyt.
9. Robert BathHouse called Underwood, Roch-
dalePresbyt.
10. Samuel Bayers, of
SankeyGeneralPresbyt.
11. William Bell, of
PrescotGeneralPresbyt.
12. James Bradshaw,
of HindleyGeneralPresbyt.
13. James BriscoeMeeting-house in Toxteth Park,
LiverpoolPresbyt. and Cong.
14. Samuel BuzeHis house, ManchesterPresbyt.
15. Robert Constantine ...Barn of Robert Wild, Heaside,
OldhamPresbyt.
16. John CromptonHis house Doulton (? Bolton).....Presbyt.
17. Thomas Trumpton
(Crompton)Meeting-house in Toxteth Park,
LiverpoolPresbyt.

1. Also entered under Sussex.

18. Robert Eaton His house, Manchester Presbyt.

19. Henry Finch, of
Manchester General Presbyt.

20. Richard Godwin House of John Okey, Bolton Presbyt.

21. Cuthbert Harrison His house, Singleton, Grange Cong.

22. John Harvie (Harvey) ... House of John Franckland, Black-
burn Presbyt.

Meeting-house in Tockeles (Tock-
holes) erected for that purpose
in Blackburn.

23. Nathaniel Heywood,
of Ormskirk General Presbyt.

24. — Hill, of Riving-
ton General Presbyt.

25. Richard Holbrooke House of William Walker, Pilkington Presbyt.

26. Thomas Holland His house, Oldham Presbyt.

27. Thomas Jollie His house at Wymondhouses,
Blackburn Cong.

28. Edmund Jones Outbuilding of Alexander Leavor,
Eccles Presbyt.

29. Thomas Key House of Francis Norbury, Entwistle...Cong.

30. William Lampett His house, Ulverston Cong.

31. John Leaver House of Widow Dickinson, Middle-
ton Presbyt.

32. James Mallinson His house, Symondswood, Wo(o)l-
ton Presbyt.

33. Henry Newcome His house, Manchester Presbyt.

34. Samuel Newton, of
Riverton (Rivington)...Oratory of James Bradshaw in
Rivington Presbyt.

35. Abel Oldham, of
Ashton-under-Lyne ... General Presbyt.

36. John Parre, of Faring-
ton, Leicester
(Farington, Lancs.) ... General Cong.

37. Henry Pendlebury, of
Tottington, Bury General Presbyt.

38. Thomas Pycke His house, Blacklie Presbyt.

39. Edward Richardson ... House of Robert Mort, Little
Hilton Presbyt.

40. Robert Rosbotham,
of Ashton General Presbyt.

41. Charles Sager, of
Blackburn General Presbyt.

42. Jeremy Scholes Outhouse of Thomas Low, Chorl-
ton Presbyt.

His house, Salford.

43. Robert Selden Of Lancashire Presbyt.

44. Timothy Smith His house, Longaridge Presbyt.

45. John Starkey House of Widow Ashurst,
Ormskirk Presbyt.

46. Zachariah Taylor Rochdale Presbyt.

47. John Walker House of James Holland, Newton,
Manchester Presbyt.

House of Jane Eckersall, widow,
Ratchdall (Rochdale) Presbyt.

48. Thomas Whitehead House of James Dickinson,
Lower Kellet Presbyt.

49. William Wilson His house, Manchester Presbyt.

50. James Woods, of Bent.	General	.....	Presbyt.
51. John Wright, of			
Prescot	General	.....	Presbyt.

52. Robert Yates, of			
Warrington	General	.....	Presbyt.

LEICESTERSHIRE

1. Richard Adams		His house, Mountsorrel	.....	Cong.
2. William Aynsworth		His house, West Langton	.....	Baptist.
3. William Biges		House of Edward Choney, Earl Shilton	.....	Baptist.
4. Richard Boosh		His house, Ratby	.....	Baptist.
5. Willian Burdett		His house, Mo(w)sley	.....	Baptist.
6. Matthew Clarke (or Clerke) of Market Harborough		General	.....	Presbyt.
		House of Thomas Johnson, Horning- hold.		
7. Henry Coleman		His house, Terlington (Tur Langton)	..	Cong.
8. William Cross		His house at Loughborough	.....	Presbyt.
9. Samuel Doughty		His house, Ashby-de-la-Zouch	.....	Presbyt.
10. Thomas Doughty		His house, Ashby-de-la-Zouch	.....	Presbyt.
11. Richard Dowley		His house, Orton-on-the-Hill	.....	—
12. Richard Drayton		House of John Wall, Pesford (Desford)	.....	Presbyt.
13. Richard Farmer (or Harmer)		His house, Kilby	.....	Baptist.
		House of Henry Fox, Wigs(t)on	.....	Cong.
14. Thomas Grantham		Of Raiston (Rolleston)	.....	Baptist.
15. Richard Hiffe		Of Fleeney (? Fleckney)	.....	Baptist.
16. Thomas Hill		His house, Lea Grange	.....	Presbyt.
17. Walter Horneby		His house, Shawell	.....	Presbyt.
18. John Jennings, of West Langton		General	.....	Presbyt.
19. John Johnson		His house, Barwell	.....	Presbyt.
20. John Jónes		House of John Onebye, Barwell	.....	Baptist.
21. Nicholas Keslin		House of Richard Keslin, Great Bowdon	.....	Presbyt.
22. Nicholas Kestón		His house, Leicester	.....	Cong.
23. John Kitchin ¹		Lutterworth	.....	Anabap.
24. John Lea		His house, Bagworth	.....	Presbyt.
25. George Long, of Leicester		General	.....	Presbyt.
26. Gabriel Major		His house at Leicester	.....	Presbyt.
		House of Robert Erick, Leicester.		
27. John St. Nicholas		His house, Burbage	.....	Presbyt.
28. Thomas Ogle ²		House of John Kendall, Tonge in Breeden	.....	Cong.
29. John Owneby		Barwell	.....	Presbyt.
30. Michael Paine		His house, Thorneton	.....	Presbyt.
31. William Peasant		Of Bosworth	.....	Baptist
32. Ferdinand Poole		House of William Hardment, Loughborough	.....	Presbyt.
33. William Sheffield		His house, Upper Kibworth	.....	Presbyt.
34. John Shuttlewood, Lubbenham		General	.....	Presbyt.

1. Also entered under Warwickshire.

2. Also entered under Derbyshire.

35. Thomas Smith House of Frank Thomasman,
Castle Donington Presbyt.
House of Francis Thomasman,
Wanliff Grange Cong.
36. William Smith His house, Diseworth Grange Presbyt.
His house, Dyseworth Grange Cong.
37. Richard Southall House of Matthew Hubbard, Mitch
Ashby (Ashby Magna) Presbyt.
38. Samuel Statham House of Mary Statham, Lough-
borough Presbyt.
39. Nathaniel Stephens, sen. His house, Stokegolden (golding)....Presbyt.
40. Edward Taylor House of Nicholas Grandy,
Thornton Presbyt.
41. Richard Taylor His house, Ske(t)chl(e)y, Warwick-
shire (Leicestershire) Presbyt.
42. Timothy Wood His house, Leicester Presbyt.
43. John Woodham His house, Roothley (Rothley) Presbyt.
44. Samuel Wright His house Donington Presbyt.
His house, Castle Donington Cong.

LINCOLNSHIRE

1. James Abdy House of Mr. Powell, LincolnPresbyt.
2. John Allen His house, EastonBaptist.
3. John Anderton His house, BrattlebyBaptist.
4. Nicholas Archer His house, LincolnBaptist.
5. John Ashwell His house, BostonBaptist.
6. John Birkett His house, Swinderby Presbyt.
7. Thomas Bonnet His house, Glanford Bridge Presbyt.
8. Edward Brown House of Elizabeth Toller,
Ho(r)blin(g) Presbyt.
9. Edward Browne His house, BassinghamBaptist.
10. Theophilus Burton His house, Swinderby Presbyt.
11. Joseph Cawthorne House of Humphrey Reynolds,
Stamford Presbyt.
12. Robert Cramlington ...House of Saumel Jegnell, Tetney....Indep.
13. John Diggott His house, Sutton St. Edmunds . .Baptist.
14. Michael Drake His house, Fulbeck Presbyt.
15. Roger Fawnes His house, LincolnBaptist.
16. Martin Finch¹ His house. Great Grimsby Cong.
17. John Haw His house, WierellBaptist.
18. Henry Hitchcock His house, IngoldsbyBaptist.
19. Valentine James His house, HuckthorneBaptist.
20. Ralph James His house, North WillinghamBaptist.
21. John Kentish, of
Grimsby Parva General Cong.
22. Abel Laine StamfordBaptist.
23. Joseph Lee House of Edward King, Ashby-de-
la-Lawnde Presbyt.
24. William Maurice His house Lezingham (Leasingham)...Cong.
25. Richard Rose His house, SpaldingIndep.
26. John Skerret His house, Mounthorpe (Man-
thorpe)Baptist.
27. — Snell His house, Stickford Presbyt.
28. Thomas Spademan His house, North Ferryby Presbyt.
29. John Thorp His house, FramptonBaptist.
30. Richard Wale His house, Pinchbeck Anabap.
31. Moses Wells His house, StickfordBaptist.

32. Thomas Williamson,
of Scotter, Leicester-
shire (Lincolnshire) General Baptist.
33. Robert Wood His house, Carleton Moorland Baptist.
34. John Wright House of Lady Berry, Linwood Presbyt.

LONDON

1. Richard Adams	House of John Adams, Cheapside...	Presbyt.
2. Edward Alexander	His house, parish of St. Martin's, Organ	Cong.
3. Dr. Samuel Annesley...	His house in Spittlefields	Presbyt.
4. Jeremiah Baines, of Horsleydown, South- wark	General	Presbyt.
5. John Baker, of Whitecross Street	General	Presbyt.
6. Robert Barker	House of James March, Parish of St. Clements, Eastcheap	Cong.
7. William Bates, D.D.	General	Presbyt.
8. William Beale	His house, Cripplegate	Presbyt.
9. William Bearman	House of Thomas Knight, Leaden- hall St.	Cong.
10. Nicholas Blaky	House near Blackfriars Church	Presbyt.
11. Samuel Burfett ¹ (Borfet) of Fins- bury or Woolwich	General	Presbyt.
12. Thomas Brookes	House of John Bagges, Lime-street...	Cong.
13. Timothy Bruice	The George, Smithfield	Presbyt.
14. William Bruice	The George, Smithfield	Presbyt.
15. Edmund Calamie	Curriers' Hall, St. Alphege	Presbyt.
16. Joseph Caryl	House of Thomas Knight, Leaden- hall St.	Cong.
17. William Carslake, of Southwark	General	Presbyt.
18. Thomas Cawton	His house, St. Anne's Wharf, Westminster	Presbyt.
19. John Chester	House in Maid Lane, St. Saviour's, Southwark	Presbyt.
20. George Cockaine	His house, Redcross Street	Cong.
	His house, St. Giles, Cripplegate.	
21. John Collines	House of James Best, Duke's Place...	Cong.
22. Samuel Corbyn	His house, near Aldersgate Street....	Cong.
23. William Cornish	House of St. Heneage Fetherston, Cow Lane	Presbyt.
24. Steven Crove (Coven)...Grub Street, Cripplegate parish	Presbyt.	
25. Zachary Crofton	His house, Tower Hill	Presbyt.
26. John Crouch	House of Widow Holmes, Little Moorfields, Cripplegate	Cong.
27. John Dan, St. Martin's, Westminster.	General	Presbyt.
28. Thomas Danson	His own house, Spittlefields	Presbyt.
29. Daniel Dick	House of David Jones, parish of St. Butald (St. Botolph) Bishops- gate	Presbyt.
30. Thomas Doelittle	Mugwell Street	Presbyt.
31. Robert Fairchild	House of John Farindine, St. John's Court, Cow Lane	Presbyt.

1. Also entered under Kent.

32. Richard Fairclough,
of Thomas Street General Presbyt.

33. Joseph Farnworth His house, Buxy Street, Wapping...Presbyt.

34. William Farrington Old Theatre, Vere Street Presbyt.

35. Ezekiel Fogg Of St. Pulkers (? Sepulchre's) Cong.

36. Stephen Ford House near Miles Lane Cong.

37. George Fownes House of John Savage on London
Bridge Cong.

38. Robert Francklin His house, Blue Anchor Alley,
Whitecross Street Presbyt.

39. Thomas Gare, of
Little Britain General Presbyt.

40. Henry Goodman Upper Deptford Cong.

41. Thomas Goodwin His house, Cripplegate Cong.

42. John Gosnald House of Richard Horton, Little
Moorfields Anabap.

43. John Gough, of
Cornhill General Presbyt.

44. George Griffith His own house, Addle Street Cong.

45. Edward Harrison His house, Petty France Anabap.

46. John Hodges House of Richard Ward, Bethnal
Green Cong.

47. Dr. Nathaniel Holmes
(or Howes) His house, Horseshoe Alley, Upper
Moorfields Cong.

48. William Hooke House of Richard Loton, Spittleyard...Cong.

49. Thomas Jacomb House of the Countess of Exeter,
Little Britain Presbyt.

50. James Janeway His house in Salisbury Street,
Bermondsey Presbyt.

51. William Jenkin House or Chamber in Horne Alley,
Aldersgate Street Presbyt.

52. Jonathan Jennings House of George Harris, near
Aldersgate Anabap.

53. Francis Johnson His house, Gray's Inn Indep.

54. James Jones Southwark Baptist

55. Thomas Juyse House of Thomas Brewer (Driver),
Gracechurch Street Cong.

56. Richard Kentish House by the Hermitage near
Wapping Cong.

57. Thomas Kentish, of
Southwark General Presbyt.

58. Samuel King, of St.
Aldermury parish General Cong.

59. John Langston House of Richard Loton, Spittle-
yard Cong.

60. Edward Lawrence, in
Spittlefields General Presbyt.

61. John Light His house in Thames Street Cong.

62. John Loder House of Mrs. Kemp, Exchange
Alley Cong.

Loder's house, Cherrytree Alley in
Burnhill (Bunhill), Cripplegate.

63. Samuel Loveday House of Edward Whiston, East
Smithfield Anabap.

64. William Maddockes ...House of Mr. Broome in
Bartholomew Lane, and Mr.
Gould's in the Spittle Presbyt.

65. Dr. Thomas Manton ...His house, Covent Garden Presbyt.

66. Stephen Moore House of Barnabas Bloxen, Writon
Yard, Southwark Indep.

67. Philip Nye Loder's house, Cherrytree Alley in
Burnhill (Bunhill), Cripplegate ...Cong.

68. Samuel Pack House of George Herne, parish of
St. Leonard's ShoreditchIndep.

69. Anthony Palmer House of John Savage on London
BridgeCong.

70. Andrew Parsons Deadman's Place, SouthwarkPresbyt.

71. Nathaniel Partridge Rooms adjoining his house, Old
Street, St. Giles, CripplegateCong.

72. John Peachye, of
SouthwarkGeneralPresbyt.

73. Samuel Peakman, of
WhitechapelGeneralPresbyt.

74. Matthias Pemberton,
of Fenchurch Street...GeneralPresbyt.

75. Robert Perrott,
Grub StreetGeneralPresbyt.

76. Thomas PlantHouse of Richard Horton, Little
MoorfieldsAnabap.

77. Elias Pledger, of
WhitechapelGeneralPresbyt.

78. George PurchasHis house, Wood StreetPresbyt.

79. John RawlinsGracechurch StreetPresbyt.

80. John ReynoldsHis house, Bunhill FieldsPresbyt.

81. Gabriel SangarHouse of Widow Lloyd in the
StrandPresbyt.

82. James SharpeKing's Head Court, Beach Lane ...Presbyt.

83. Matthew Silvester, of
Coleman StreetGeneralPresbyt.

84. Dr. John SingletonHouse of Thomas Cowdrey, Queen-
hitheCong.

85. Francis Smith¹CornhillBaptist.

86. Zephaniah Smith, of
StepneyGeneralCong.

87. Richard SteeleWestmoreland HousePresbyt.

88. Henry StubbsHis house in Jewin StreetPresbyt.

89. Robert TatnallHis house, Broad StreetPresbyt.

90. Thomas TaylorHis house, Gracechurch StreetCong.

91. Stephen ToryHouse of William Potter, Bell
Lane, StepneyBaptist.

92. John TurnerHis house, near Fetter LanePresbyt.

93. Henry Vaughan, of
SpittlefieldsGeneralPresbyt.

94. Edmund VealeHouse in Globe Alley, WappingPresbyt.

95. Thomas VincentHouse in Hand Alley, Bishopsgate
WithoutPresbyt.

96. Peter Winke (Vinke)
of Austin FriarsGeneralPresbyt.

97. Ralph VinningHouse of James March, in St.
Clement's, EastcheapCong.

98. Thomas WatsonHis own house, DowgatePresbyt.

99. John WellsHis house, Middle Moorfields,
ShoreditchPresbyt.

100. Edward WestHis house in Ropemakers' Alley,
Little MoorfieldsPresbyt.

101. William WhitakerCourt Yard, BermondseyPresbyt.

102. Samuel WilsonGeneralPresbyt.

103. John YaxleyHis house at the Golden Still,
HolbornCong.

1. Also entered under Surrey.

MIDDLESEX

1. Arthur Barham	His house in Hackney	Presbyt.
2. Haslefoot Bridges	His house at Enfield	Presbyt.
3. Daniel Bull	His own house, and that of Mrs. Stock, Stoke Newington	Presbyt.
4. Hugh Butler	House of John Crowder, Uxbridge...	Presbyt.
5. Thomas Case, of Chiswick	General	Presbyt.
6. John Chishull	His own house, Enfield	Presbyt.
7. John Dodridge, Twickenham	General	Presbyt.
8. Samuel Fairchild	House of John Hocklie, Enfield.....	Presbyt.
9. George Fawler	His own house, Islington	Presbyt.
10. Robert Hall	House of Richard Biscoe, Uxbridge...	Indep.
11. John Jackson, of Brentford	General	Presbyt.
12. John James	His house at Staines	Presbyt.
13. Ezekias King	His house at Hornsey	Presbyt.
14. Samuel Lee	His house at Newington Green, Islington	Presbyt.
15. William Low	His house or Mr. Staines, Chiswick	Presbyt.
16. Martin Morland	His house, Hackney	Presbyt.
17. Charles Price	His house, Hammersmith	Cong.
18. William Rolls	Pinner	Cong.
19. Lazarus Seaman, of Hammersmith	General	Presbyt.
20. Thomas Senior	His house, Clapton, Hackney	Presbyt.
21. John Sheffield	His house and those of Farington and Clarke, Enfield	Presbyt.
22. Peter Sterry	House of Edward Bushell, Hackney	Presbyt.
23. John Storer	His house, Highgate	Presbyt.
24. Philip Taverner	His house, Thisleworth (Isle- worth)	Presbyt.
25. Jonathan Tuckney	His house at Hackney	Presbyt.
26. Thomas West	His house, Hayes	Presbyt.
27. William Wickins	House of John Forth, Hackney.....	Presbyt.
28. Hezekiah Woodward ...	House of William Nicoll, Uxbridge...	Presbyt.

MONMOUTHSHIRE

1. Thomas Barnes	House of Walter Jones, Magor	Indep.
2. John Edwards	His house, Abergavenny	Anabap.
3. Watkin John ¹	His house, Monysley (Mynyd- dislwyn)	Presbyt.
4. John Jones	His house, Aberystruth	Indep.
5. Watkin Jones ²	His house, Mynythstloy (Mynyd- dislwyn)	Indep.
6. Thomas Jones	His house, Bedwelly	Anabap.
7. Joshua Lloyd, itinerant	General	Presbyt.
8. — Milman	House of William Richards, Lanqume (Llangwm)	Cong.
9. Rignald (Reginald) Morgan, Buttus (Bettws.)	General	Presbyt.

1, 2. Probably one and the same person.

10. John Powell, of
Newport General Indep.
11. Christopher Price His house, Abergavenny Anabap.
12. William Prichard His house, Llantiliopertholey Anabap.
13. Thomas Quarrell House of John Maurice, Shersnewton
(Shire Newton) Cong.
14. George Robinson House of George Morgan, Lantrisin
(Llantrissant) Cong.
15. Henry Walter His house, parish of Lantarnud
(Llantarnam) Indep.
16. Walter Williams House of Edward Waters, Langyby
(Llangibby) Cong.

NORFOLK

1. Robert Aldred House of Abraham Bilny, Faires-
field (Fersfield) Presbyt.
2. Thomas Allen House of John Knight, St. Andrew's
parish Norwich Cong.
3. Robert Alford His house, Walsoken Cong.
4. Christopher Amirant House of Samuel Knight, Overstrand...Cong.
5. Henry Austine, of
Norwich General Baptist.
6. John Barber Of Great Yarmouth Baptist.
7. William Bidbank House of Thomas Church, Lamas...Cong.
House of Robert Primrose, Denton...Cong.
8. Daniel Bradford, of
Norwich General Baptist.
9. Daniel Buckmaster House of Robert Juby, Tibnam
(Tibenham) Presbyt.
10. William Burton His house, Diss Cong.
11. John Collings House of Jonathan Wilson, St.
Stephen's, Norwich Presbyt.
12. John Corie House of Richard Knight, parish of
St. George of Colegate, Norwich...Cong.
13. Dort. His house, Barford Cong.
14. William Duke, of St.
Clement's, Norwich General Baptist.
15. Martin Finch House of Nicholas Withers, St.
Clement's parish, Norwich Cong.
16. Thomas Flatman, of
Norwich General Baptist.
17. John Greene (or Green). His house, Tunstead Cong.
House of Edmund Bell, Dilham.....Cong.
House of William Newson at Dick-
leburgh Cong.
18. John Horne, of Lynn General Cong.
19. John Jessup His house, South Lopham Presbyt.
20. Samuel Lane His house, North Repps Presbyt.
21. Robert Leman House of John Bell, Oldton
(Oulton) Cong.
22. John Louther House of John Doughty, North-
repps Presbyt.
House of William Chapman,
Hanworth Cong.
23. John Lucas House of John Munford (or
George Manford) parish of St.
Peter's in the Market, Norwich...Presbyt.
24. Thomas Mallet (or
Mariott) His house, Holdenham Baptist

25. Nathaniel MitchellHouse of William Newman, St. Peter's Hungate, NorwichPresbyt.
 House of William Newman, St. Michael's Coslany, Norwich ...Presbyt.

26. Samuel ManningHouse of Stephen Hamblin, Dunham...Cong.

27. John Money, of WymondhamGeneralIndep.

28 Thomas NewmanHouse of Andrew Allen, Comston and 29 (Cawston)Indep.

30. Samuel Petts (Pettaugh) His house at Wortwell-cum-Alburgh...Cong.
 House of John Westgate, Redenhall-with-HarlstonCong.

31. Charles PhelpsOf LynnCong.

32. Augustine Plumstead¹ ..GeneralPresbyt.

33. William SeeleHis house, Wallingham (Wellingham)...Cong.

34. William SheldrakeHouse of William Burton, Great YarmouthCong.

35. Is. (Israel) ShipdamHouse of Matthias Elsgood, Oxwich...Indep.

36. Benjamin Snowden ...House of John Barnham,² St. Andrew's parish, NorwichPresbyt.

37. Martin SparrowHis house, LammasCong.

38. Henry SymondsHouse of John Haggis, North WalshamAnabap.

39. Thomas TracyOf Great YarmouthBaptist.

40. Richard VynneHis own house, Stratton St. Michael...Indep.

41. John Waddelow
 St. Peter's parish,
 Mount(er)gate,
 NorwichGeneralBaptist.

42. John WilsonHis house, Mudenhamb (Mundham)...Baptist.

43. Robert WoodHouse of Elizabeth Becker, East RustonAnabap.

44. Enoch WoodwardHouse of John Toft, St. Clement's parish, NorwichCong.

45. Richard WortsHouse of Mary Hastings, Guestwick...Cong.

46. Thomas WortsHouse of Robert Geel, ImghamCong.
 House of Thomas Brady, Cawston...Presbyt.

NORTHAMPTONSHIRE

1. Robert AllenHouse of Edward Hardy, Ad(s)ton...Presbyt.

2. Vincent AlsopHis house, GedingtonCong.

3. Thomas AndrewsHis house at Meeres AshbyPresbyt.

4. John BaynardHouse of Robert Gray, IshamCong.

5. Christopher BellPeterboroughAnabap.

6. George BidbankOf Denton.

7. Thomas BrettHouse of John Morrice, Wollaston...Presbyt.

8. Thomas BrowningHis house, and that of Susanna Ponder, RothwellCong.

9. William ButlerOf AshleyPresbyt.

10. Thomas CarneOf Sibler or Sibben (? Sibbertoft)...Baptist.

11. James CaveHouse of Widow Manley, Daventry...Presbyt.

12. John CourtmanHouse of John Mansell, Thorpe MalsorCong.

13. Francis DandyHouse of Margaret Brooke, O(a)kley MagnaPresbyt.

1. Entered under Suffolk as Congregationalist.

2. Elsewhere described as Independent.

14. Thomas Edmonds House of John Brookes, Wallaston...Presbyt.
 15. Robert Ekins House of Elizabeth Mulsoe, Twywell...Cong.
 16. William Floyd House of William Wells, Woodford.....Cong.
 17. George Fowler House of James Cole, Titchmarsh.....Cong.
 18. John Harding His house, NorthamptonPresbyt.
 19. Richard Hooke His house, NorthamptonPresbyt.
 20. John Maydwell House of Widow Cooper, Kettering ...Cong.
 21. Strickland Negus House of Richard Barnes, Welling-
 boroughCong.
 22. William Oliver,
 Nassington GeneralPresbyt.
 23. Matthew Orisbar His house, PolebrookPresbyt.
 24. Edward Payton, of
 Eye GeneralAnabap.
 25. Thomas Perkins KetteringPresbyt.
 26. Ralph Punn House of John Overton, Duncott.....Cong.
 27. Richard Rasbury His house, OundleCong.
 28. Robert Rogers His house, WappenhamPresbyt.
 29. John Rowlett House of Anne Elmes, Warming-
 tonPresbyt.
 30. John Sarjant EyeBaptist
 31. Henry Searle House of Lady Pickering, Titch-
 marshPresbyt.
 32. John Seaton, of Islip ...GeneralPresbyt.
 33. Christopher Stanley ...His house, Brafield GreenPresbyt.
 34. Nathaniel Whiting His house, CranfordCong.
 House of Lady Pickering, Titchmarsh
 35. Robert Wild His house, OundlePresbyt.
 36. John Willes House of John Morton, Ringstead...Presbyt.
 37. Daniel Williams, of
 DaventryGeneralPresbyt.
 38. John Worth House of John Billing, WeedonPresbyt.
 39. Twyford Worthington ..His house, Higham FerrersPresbyt.

NORTHUMBERLAND

1. Robert Blunt His house in AlnwickPresbyt.
 2. Patrick Bromfield His house, HarropPresbyt.
 3. William Durant, of
 NewcastleGeneralCong.
 4. John Gilpin, of
 NewcastleGeneralPresbyt.
 5. William Johnson His house, Falaees (Fallowlees).....Presbyt.
 His house, Bolam.
 6. Henry Lever, of
 NewcastleGeneralPresbyt.
 7. Luke Ogle, of Berwick..GeneralPresbyt.
 8. John Pringle, of
 NewcastleGeneralPresbyt.
 9. Gilbert Rule, of
 BerwickGeneralPresbyt.
 10. John Thompson Room in the Tolbooth, Morpeth ... Cong.
 11. Thomas Trewren
 (Trurant)His house, Ovingham parishCong.
 12. Nicholas Wressell, of
 BerwickGeneralPresbyt

NOTTINGHAMSHIRE

1. John Barret House of Margery Derry, Nottingham Presbyt.
2. John Billingsley House of Robert Vincent, Nottingham Presbyt.
3. Thomas Burden House of Ann Kendall, Cotgrave Cong.
4. Thomas Casse His house, Keesall (Kersall) Cong.
5. William Crosse House of Thomas Porter, Bingham Presbyt.
6. John Crumwell His house, Mansfield Presbyt.
7. Richard Easam His house, Norwell Baptist.
8. Charles Jackson House of James Siover, Falum (Halam) Presbyt.
9. John Jackson His house, Morton Cong.
10. John James House of William Bradley, Flintham.
11. John Leighton, of Greasley General Presbyt.
12. Samuel Nowell House of John Chamberlaine, Nottingham.
13. Robert Porter House of John Walker, Nottingham Presbyt.
14. William Reynolds House of Joseph James at Nottingham Presbyt.
15. Josiah Rocke His house at Bole Presbyt.
16. Thomas Rosse His house in Atholton Presbyt.
17. John Whitlock His house, Mansfield Presbyt.
18. William Woolhouse House of Thomas Lupton, Nottingham.
19. William Woolhouse His house, Sutton Baptist.
19. John Wright His house, Carleton Baptist.
19. John Wright House of Thomas Fellingham, Arnold Cong.

OXFORDSHIRE

1. John Carpenter, of Whitnix (Witney) General Baptist.
2. Thomas Cole His house, Henley-on-Thames Cong.
2. Thomas Cole House of John Tyler and barn of Alexander Bernard, Henley-on-Thames.
3. Henry Cornish, of Stanton Harcourt General Presbyt.
4. Stephen Coven House of Thomas Ovy, Watlington Cong.
5. Thomas Gilbert, of Oxford General Cong.
6. William Gilbert, of Stanton, Harcourt General Presbyt.
7. John Harper, of Wallington (Watlington) General Baptist.
8. Francis Hubbard His house, Witney Presbyt.
9. Laurence King House of Richard Titmarsh, Oxford Anabap.
10. Thomas Packford, of Finstock General Baptist.
11. Robert Pawlyn House of Anthony Hall, Oxford Presbyt.
12. Robert Rogers His house, Oxford Cong.
13. William Smalwood His house, Maple Durham Presbyt.
14. James Sutton His house, Banbury Presbyt.

15. Richard Titmarsh His house, Oxford Anabap.
16. John Traughton His house, Bicester Presbyt.
17. Samuel Welles His own house or that of James Sutton, Banbury Presbyt.
18. Thomas Wheatley His house, Ded(d)ington parish.....Presbyt.

RUTLANDSHIRE

1. Benjamin King House of Matthias Barry, Oakham...Presbyt.
2. Thomas Langdale His house, Cawcott (Caldecott).....Cong.
3. John Richardson His house, UppinghamPresbyt.

SHROPSHIRE

1. Joshua Barnett House of Richard Whitcom, HardwickPresbyt.
2. Samuel Beresford His own house, ShrewsburyPresbyt.
3. John Brown His house at MilfordCong.
4. John Bryan House of Charles Doughty, Salop ...Presbyt.
5. Charles Edwards, of Oswestry GeneralPresbyt.
6. Reginald Findlowe His house, Cold WestonPresbyt.
7. Richard Higgins His house, LudtordCong.
8. David Jenks (or Jinks), of Drexhill ...ShrewsburyPresbyt.
General.
9. Francis Keeling, Bast Church (Baschurch)...GeneralPresbyt.
10. John Malden House of Thomas Yates, Whit-churchPresbyt.
11. Henry Maurice (Morrice) His house, Much WenlockCong.
House of Edmond Symonds, Round Acton.
12. Rowland Nevett His house, WestonCong.
13. William Phyns House of James Dodd, MartonCong.
14. James Quarrell The King's Head, ShrewsburyCong.
15. Philip Rogers His house, St. Martin's parishCong.
16. Richard Sadler House of William Bennion, Prees parishPresbyt.
17. Richard Swaine His house in the town of Salop ShrewsburyPresbyt.
18. Samuel Taylor His house at Wem.Presbyt.
19. Timothy Thomas House of Thomas Baker, Swiny (Sweeny)Cong.
20. Andrew Tresham His house, BridgnorthPresbyt.
21. Thomas Yates House of Robert Benion, Alkinton, Whitchurch parishPresbyt.

SOMERSETSHIRE

1. Tobias Adames His house, MiddlezoyPresbyt.
2. Robert Addridge House of Stephen Ames, Cros-combeBaptist.
3. Henry Albine, of Spargrove GeneralPresbyt.
4. Matthew Alflatt His house in BathPresbyt.
House of Widow Cicely Poole, Mount-oncombe (Monckton Combe).

5.	Richard Allen	Barn belonging to Seamour's Court, Beckington	Presbyt.
6.	William Angeares	His house, St. Bennet's, Glaston- bury	Baptist.
7.	Henry Backnaller, of Chard	General	Presbyt.
8.	John Baker, of Fifehead (Fivehead)...	General	Presbyt.
	John Baker, of Barry Mallet	General	Presbyt.
		House of Francis White, Temple- combe.	
9.	Josiah Bangor	House of William Wheadon, Whotley, Winsham parish	Presbyt.
10.	Timothy Batt	Houses of John Norman and Daniel Locke, Wellington	Presbyt.
11.	Edward Bennet	House of William Stroud, Shepton Mallet	Presbyt.
		His house, Brawham (Brewham).	
12.	Benjamin Berry ¹	House of Abraham Sealy, Trull parish	Presbyt.
13.	George Binden ² (or Bindon)	His house, Staplegrove	Presbyt.
14.	George Bisse, parish of Mortlock (Martock).	General	Presbyt.
15.	Richard Blake	His house, Stoke Lane	Presbyt.
16.	Ambrose Brooke	House of Abel Bewsies, Hossington (? Horrington)	Baptist.
17.	Francis Bryant	Of Ashbrittle	Baptist.
18.	Thomas Budd, of Barrington	General	Presbyt.
19.	John Bush	House of Robert Bagnall, Keyn- sham	Presbyt.
		Of Langport.	
20.	Henry Butler, of Lavington (? Laver- ton)	General	Presbyt.
21.	Henry Butler ³	House of Elias Barners, Yeovil.....	Cong.
22.	Nathaniel Byfield	House of John Oldmixon, Bridg- water	Anabap.
23.	John Carnall	Of Ashbrittle	Baptist.
24.	Samuel Chapple	House of George Hutchins, Kingston.	Indep.
25.	Nathaniel Charlton	His house, Taunton	Presbyt.
26.	William Clarke	His house, Witham Friary	Anabap.
27.	Thomas Coale	His house, Wincanton	Baptist.
28.	William Cooper, of Crewkerne	General	Presbyt.
		His house, Load.	
		His house, Martock.	
29.	Robert Cox	House of Francis Hartgill, Kibmin(g)ton	Anabap.
30.	Thomas Cresse, of Dunkerton	General	Presbyt.
31.	Thomas Crosse	House of Thomas Ford, Pensford....	Presbyt.
32.	Dr. Francis Crosse	House of (Thomas Ford ?), Pens- ford	Presbyt.
33.	John Cudmore, of Chard	General	Presbyt.

1, 2. Also entered under Devonshire.

3. Also entered under Wiltshire.

34. John Davison House of John Wayland, Fromezel-
wood (Frome Selwood) Anabap.

35. George Day, of
Wiveliscombe General Presbyt.

36. Baldwin Deacon House of Philip Cornish, Kingston...Presbyt.
His house Kingston.

37. John Deyor (or
Dyer) House of Peter Templeman, East
Chinnock Presbyt.

38. Robert Drake House of Peter Southwood, Buck-
land Presbyt.

39. Isaac Farman Of Ashbrittle Baptist.

40. Thomas Forward His own house, Pitminster Presbyt.

41. Richard Gadge House of George Hopper, Fromezel-
wood Anabap.

42. John Galpin House of Robert Sellerke, Laurence
Liddiard Presbyt.

43. John Gardner, of
Bridgwater General Presbyt.

44. Enoch Grey¹, of
Bruton General Cong.

45. Edward Gatchell His house, Pitminster Anabap.

46. John Glanvill His own house, Taunton St. James..Presbyt.

47. James Greenwood Barton Farm, near Bath Presbyt.

48. Stephen Ham House of John Collier, Cheddar ...Baptist.

49. Emmanuel Harford House of Thomas Proctor, Stoake-
hill, parish of Stoake Mary Presbyt.

50. John Herring House of Dorothy Cooper, Hill
Bishop parish Presbyt.

51. William Higgins House of Anthony Taunton, St.
Cuthbert's Wells Baptist.

52. John Hill House of John Cellard, Dulverton...Presbyt.
House of John Gardiner, Staple-
grove.

53. William Hopkins His house, Milborne Port Presbyt.

54. John Humphrey, of
Kingsbury General Presbyt.

55. James Illingworth House of William Board, Batcombe..Presbyt.

56. Christopher Jones House of John Partridge, North
Perrot Baptist.

57. Stephen Lancklark His house, Minehead Baptist.

58. John Langdale (or
Langdall) His house at Crickett Presbyt.
House of Frollick Bayley, Hinton
St. George.

59. Hierome Littlejohn His house, North Cadbury Presbyt.

60. Thomas Marshall House of William Bennet,
Crewkerne Presbyt.
His house, Ilminster.

61. Thomas Miller² House of John Partridge, North
Perrot Baptist.

62. Benjamin Mills, of
Chard General Presbyt.

63. John Musgrove House of Valentine Brown, Nether
Stowey Presbyt.

64. Lawrence Musgrove ...House of John Glanvill, Taunton
St. James Presbyt.

65. George Newton House of Thomas Stone, Taunton...Presbyt.

1. Also entered under Gloucestershire.

2. Also entered under Dorsetshire.

66. Jeremiah PaineHouse of Andrew Shord, Little
WhatleyAnabap

67. George PearceHouse of Edward Sutton, Loterford,
parish of North CheritonCong.

68. Humphrey Phillips,
of PristonGeneralPresbyt.

69. Robert Pinney, of
ChardGeneralPresbyt.

70. Richard PowellHouse of John Harris, YattonPresbyt.

71. William RundellHouse of Richard Eggerdon, or
Egerton, WhatleyAnabap.

72. Thomas SalfordHouses of Richard Gilling and
Hannah Safford, BicknollerPresbyt.

73. William SamsonA large room in the midst of the
street at ChardPresbyt.

74. Robert Speare¹House of John Speare, Bro(o)mfield. Anabap.

75. James StephensonHouse of William Welman, Martock. Presbyt.

76. James StrongeHouse of John Mayne, BroadwayPresbyt.

77. John TurnerHis house, CrickettPresbyt.

78. Matthew WarrenHouse of John Hill, WithypoolPresbyt.

79. Toby WellsHouse of Charles Miles, Bridgwater. Anabap.

80. John Willis, of
MineheadGeneralPresbyt.

81. Thomas Willis (or
Willise)His house in Pinkney (? Pitney)Cong.
House of John Pierce, Montacute.

82. Edward WoolcottHis house, AxbridgeBaptist.

STAFFORDSHIRE

1. Thomas BackwellHouse of (Richard) Brown, Long-
donPresbyt. and Cong.
His house, TatenhillPresbyt.

2. Thomas Baldwin
RowleyGeneralPresbyt.

3. Thomas BeechHouse of John Cotrocke, Audley
parishAnabap.

4. Richard BellHouse of Edward Eves, George
Fowler and Elizabeth Deale
(Deakin), of WalsallPresbyt.

5. John Blundell, of
Burton-on-TrentGeneralBaptist.

6. Edward BurryHouse of William Smallwood,
Ronton TownPresbyt.

7. Thomas Buxton²His own house, TamworthCong.

8. Joseph Cope³House of Edward Harrison, Eagle-
shall (Ecclesall)Presbyt.

9. Thomas CreeseHouse of John Law (Low), West-
bruomham (West Bromwich)Presbyt.

10. John EccleshallHis house, Sedgley parishPresbyt.

11. Ralph EcclesoleHouse of William Keels (Keeling),
Darle(s)tonPresbyt.

12. Thomas Edge, of
BalhamGeneralPresbyt.

13. Thomas FordHouse of Richard Clerke, Burton-
on-TrentPresbyt.

14. William GraceHouse of John Panell, RugeleyPresbyt.

1. Elsewhere described as Presbyterian.

2. Also entered under Warwickshire.

3. Also entered under Cheshire.

15. Richard HiltonWest Bramwick (Bromwich)Presbyt.
16. Richard HinksHis house, SuptonCong.
17. Thomas Miles, of
LichfieldGeneralPresbyt.
18. William Osborne,
of Han(d)sorthGeneralPresbyt.
19. Henry Osland¹OakenPresbyt.
20. Thomas SillitsHouse of Samuel Sillits, Audley
parishAnabap.
21. Richard SwinsonHis house, BurtonPresbyt.
22. Richard SwintinHouse of William Palmer, Fish(e)r-
(w)ickPresbyt.
23. William TurtonHouse of Joseph Wade, Stafford ...Presbyt.
House of William Keeling, Darleston.

SUFFOLK

1. William AmesThe meeting-house, WrenthamPresbyt.
2. Samuel Backleader ...Of East BergholtPresbyt.
3. Thomas BentonHouse of Isaac Carter, Watisfield...Presbyt.
4. Samuel BlowerSudburyCong.
5. Samuel CradockeGeesings, WickhamPresbyt.
6. Francis CrowHis house in OvingtonPresbyt.
7. Henry CuzensHis house, Wiverstone, or Wiveston
(Winston)Cong.
8. John FairfaxHouse of Margaret Rozer, Needham
MarketPresbyt.
9. Samuel FoanesOf East BergholtPresbyt.
10. Thomas FolkerdHis house, WalpoolePresbyt.
11. William FolkesHouses of John Clarke in St.
Edmund's Bury and John Parish
in SudburyPresbyt.
12. Jonathan GefferodHouse of Mrs. Mosley, Owesden
(Ousden)Presbyt.
13. William GoodrichHis house, Fishitt (Hessett)Presbyt.
14. William Goulding
(Golding)House of Richard Sampson, Fressing-
fieldCong.
15. Henry HaversGrey Friars' house, St. Nicholas
parish, IpswichPresbyt.
16. Thomas Holbrough² ..His house, BattisfordCong.
17. John HurnonHis house, SibtonCong.
18. Thomas JamesHouse of Thomas Weatherhouse
(Waterhouse), West Creating ...Presbyt.
19. Richard JenningHis house, CombsPresbyt.
20. James JordainHis house, HighamPresbyt.
21. James KingHis house and that of Samuel Bunnet,
both near DebenhamIndep.
22. Thomas LawsonHis house, NortonIndep.
23. William LloydHis house, St. Mary Elms, Ipswich.....Cong.
24. John Manning} Their houses at PeasanhallCong.
25. William Manning} Their houses at PeasanhallCong.
26. Samuel ManningHis house, WalpoolCong.
27. John MeadowesHouse of Elizabeth Nelson, Stow-
marketPresbyt.
28. Richard MoreOf East BergholtPresbyt.
29. Robert MorleyHis house, DenhamCong.

1. Also entered under Worcester.

2. Described elsewhere as Presbyterian.

30. Thomas Motte (or
Mote) His house, Higham Presbyt.
31. Thomas Nuttall His house, Rendham Presbyt.
32. Robert Otteway His house, Beccles Indep.
33. Robert Ottie House of Thomas Plumstead,
Beccles Indep.
34. John Pindar House of Robert Lanfield, Reed ...Presbyt.
35. Edward Plough (or
Clough) House of John Snelocke, Gisling-
ham Indep.
36. Austin Plumstead¹ House of Anne Fenn, Fram(l)ingham..Indep.
37. John Salkeld His house at Walsham in the
Willows Presbyt.
38. Stephen Scandrett House of Joseph A(l)ders, Haverhill.Presbyt.
39. — Sheerman House near Stoke Presbyt.
40. Robert Smith House of Joseph Gilder, WesseltonCong.
41. Thomas Spatchett House of Lydia Woodward, Cookley...Cong.
42. Samuel Spring House of Margaret Rozer, Needham
Market Presbyt.
43. John Starke House of Robert Smith, SilehamCong.
House of George Groome, Rattlesdon.
His house at Winkfield.
44. Owen Storton
(Stockton) Grey Friars' House, St. Nicholas
parish, Ipswich Presbyt.
House of John Smith, Hadleigh.
45. John Strowger House of James Harvey, EyeIndep.
Houses of John Browne, Metfield,
and John Wild, CookleyCong.
46. Jacob Votier House of Widow Craine, Spex(h)all..Presbyt.
47. James Waller House of Edmund Frost, Hunston..Presbyt.
48. Thomas Walker House of Abraham Randall, Staver-
tonPresbyt.
49. Edmund Whincop His house, MiddletonCong.
50. John Wilkinson His house WalshamPresbyt.
51. John Wimbon
(Wimbourne) House of Dame Cooke, Southgate
Street, in BuryCong.
52. Frederick Woodall House of Jonathan Basse, Wood-
bridgeCong.

SURREY

1. Edward Baker House of Nathaniel Read, Croydon ...Cong.
2. Richard Bures, of
Frimley GeneralPresbyt.
3. John Bernard House of Richard Humphrey,
GadbrookAnabap.
4. William Burnett House of William Longhurst,
ChertseyAnabap.
5. David ClarksonHouse of John Beamish, Mort-
lakePresbyt. and Cong.
6. John FarollHouse of Richard Collier, Farnham..Presbyt.
7. Robert Fish His house at Ockley, Sussex
(Surrey)Presbyt.
8. James FisherHis house at DorkingCong.
9. Christopher Fowler ...His house, Kennington, Lambeth....Presbyt.
10. Thomas HarrocksHis own house, BatterseaPresbyt.
11. William HughesHis house, ClaphamPresbyt.

1. Also entered under Norfolk as Presbyterian.

12. John Luffe, parish
of St. Mary Magdalene. General Presbyt.
13. Thomas Lye His house at Clapham Presbyt.
14. John Manshipp His house, Guildford Presbyt.
15. Richard Mayo House of John Pigot, Kingston-on-
Thames Presbyt.
16. Charles Morton His house in Kennington Presbyt.
17. Thomas Pace His house, Battersea Presbyt.
18. James Parkins, of
Ble(t)chingley General Presbyt.
19. James Prince House of Richard Whithall, Farn-
ham Presbyt.
20. Daniel Rayner His house, Eggum (Egham) Presbyt.
21. John Seaton House of William Forliss, Limps-
field Presbyt.
22. William Sims Kingston-upon-Thames Presbyt.
23. Francis Smith¹ Room, formerly a malthouse, in the
west part of Croydon Anabap.
24. Arthur Squibb His house, Chertsey Baptist.
25. Thomas Strickland House of William Wilkinson,
Effingham Baptist.
26. Noah Webb, of
Frimley General Presbyt.
27. John Wheeler House of Edward Billinghurst,
Elstead Baptist.
28. Samuel Wickham,
of Purbright General Presbyt.
29. Henry Wilkinson His house, or the Schoolhouse,
Clapham Presbyt.
30. John Wood His house at Dorking Presbyt.

SUSSEX

1. John Abbot, of
Westeake (West Stoke) General Cong.
2. Richard Bacon House of Mark Wright, Hastings....Anabap.
3. John Beaton House of Thomas Lees, Athington
(Ashington) Presbyt.
4. Joseph Bennet His house, Brightling Presbyt.
5. John Brett House of Joseph Studley, Mayfield..Presbyt.
6. James Bricknoll,
Preston General Presbyt.
7. John Buckley House of John Prior, Goring Lee,
Shipley Presbyt.
8. John Corbet, of
Chichester General Presbyt.
9. John Crouch House of Thomas Fissenden, jun.,
Lewes Cong.
10. William Fletcher His house, Chichester Anabap.
11. Henry Fole His house, Arundel Presbyt.
12. Thomas Frenchman His house, Selscombe (Sedles-
combe) Cong.
13. Richard Garrett House of Nicholas Brewer, Midhurst..Cong.
14. Thomas Gooldham His house at Burwash Presbyt.
15. Thomas Hallett House of Thomas Hurst, Wahillfield
(Wivelsfield) Presbyt.
16. John Lover His house, Lewes Cong.
His house, Hailsham.

1. Also entered under London.

17. Edward Lullum House called Kenwards, Lindfield...Presbyt.
 18. William Martaine House of John Oglander, Kingston..Presbyt.
 19. Stephen Martin, of
 East Grinstead GeneralPresbyt.
 20. Thomas Martin House of Richard Spencer, Mount-
 fieldBaptist.
 21. William Mills House of Injan Tackers (Ninian
 Tasker), BalcombeCong.
 22. Samuel Murner House of Thomas Watersfield,
 ArundelCong.
 23. Edward Newton House of Widow Swan, LewesPresbyt.
 24. Joseph Osbourne House of John Fryland at Bred-
 hempston (Brightelmston)Indep.
 25. Christopher Snell His house, East GrinsteadPresbyt.
 26. John Stonel House of Nicholas Winton,
 Waldron.Presbyt.
 27. Edmund Thorpe His house, SelscombePresbyt.
 28. John Thorpe His house, St. Clement's Hastings...Presbyt.
 29. Richard Turner House of Alexander Bridge, Nyldon,
 (Balcombe) Presbyt.
 30. — Upton House of William Fletcher, parish
 of St. Pancras, ChichesterAnabap.
 31. William Wallace
 (Wallis) His own house at East DenePresbyt.
 32. Joseph Whyton
 (Whiston) House of Richard Button, Mayfield ...Cong.
 33. John Willis, of
 Westgate, Chichester.GeneralCong.
 34. Thomas Wilmore House of Barnard Tully, ShipleyCong.
 35. Matthew Woodman ...His house, HorshamPresbyt.

WARWICKSHIRE

1. Thomas Bladen Of BirminghamPresbyt.
 2. Edward Boucher House of Widow Allen, Shiltington..Presbyt.
 3. William Brooke
 (Brooks) His house, Fillongley parishPresbyt.
 4. Samuel Bryan, of
 Southam GeneralPresbyt.
 5. Thomas Buxton² House of William Wilcox, Coventry...Cong.
 6. Dr. John Byron House of Robert Heyward,
 CoventryPresbyt.
 7. Francis Clayton House of William Power, Ashurst
 (Atherstone)Anabap.
 8. Abel Collyer House of John Boun, CoventryCong.
 9. Thomas Evance (Evans) His house at BirminghamPresbyt.
 10. William Fincher His house, BirminghamPresbyt.
 11. Samuel Fisher His house at BirminghamPresbyt.
 12. John Gammidge House of Jeremiah SaundersAnabap.
 13. Samuel Girdler His house, BirminghamCong.
 14. Obadiah Grew, D.D....Houses of Edmund Kirton, John
 Basnet, and Thomas Jessen in
 CoventryPresbyt.
 15. William Keeling His house, AtherstoneAnabap.
 16. Manasses King House of Thomas Chapman, Whit-
 tingtonAnabap.
 17. John Kitchin³ House of John Perkins, ShiltonBaptist.

1. Also entered under Kent.

2. Also entered under Staffordshire.

3. Also entered under Leicestershire.

18. Matthew Leadbeater,
of WhitakerGeneralPresbyt.
19. John LosebyHis house, Cop(s)ton MagnaPresbyt.
20. Nathaniel Mansfield ...House of Widow Thornton, Man-
cet(t)erPresbyt.
21. William MilnerBirminghamPresbyt.
22. Dudley Rider, Woolby. GeneralPresbyt.
23. William SadlerHis house, NuneatonAnabap.
24. Thomas SmithOf AustreyPresbyt.
25. William SwaineHis house, WithiebrookePresbyt.
26. Henry WattsHis house, WeddingtonPresbyt.
27. John WilcoxHouse of Widow Onely, Long Low-
ford (Lawford)Anabap.
28. Samuel WillisHis house at BirminghamPresbyt.
House of Joseph Robinson, Bir-
mingham.
29. Samuel WillsHis house, CoventryPresbyt.
30. John WoolastonHouse of Thomas Matthews,
BrandonAnabap.

WESTMORELAND

1. George BensonHis house, KendalPresbyt.
2. Thomas Whitehead ...House of John Garnett, KendalPresbyt.

WILTSHIRE

1. William AdsHouse of William Lewse, Weeke ...Anabap.
2. John AlchurchHouse of Widow Blake, Stowford,
parish of South NewtonAnabap.
3. William AldridgeHouse of Thomas George, Earl
StokeBaptist.
4. John Axford, of Earl
StokeGeneral
5. Robert BartletHouse of William Buckler, War-
minsterPresbyt.
6. Henry Butler¹House of Matthew Morris, Maiden
BradleyCong.
7. Samuel CliffordHis house at Knoyell (Knoyle)Presbyt.
8. Thomas CollierHouse of Widow Randall, North
BradleyAnabap.
House of Robert Runwell, Southwick...Cong.
9. William ConwayBarn of Edward Browne, Westport
parish, MarlboroughPresbyt.
10. John CroftsHouse of John Girle, Newton Toney...Cong.
House of Francis Fines, Newton
ToneyPresbyt.
11. Henry Dent, of
Rombsberry (Rams-
bury)GeneralPresbyt.
12. Benjamin FlowerHis house at ChippenhamPresbyt.
13. John FoxHouse of Widow Fidsall, Devizes ...Baptist
14. John FraylingHouse of Edward Hope, jun., Devizes Independ.
15. William FoxHouse of Widow Fidsall, Devizes ...Baptist
16. Paul FrewenHouse of Edward Grant, Trow-
bridgeAnabap.
17. William GoughHis house in StokePresbyt.
18. Thomas GreggHouse of Joseph Bernard, Stowford
in Wingfield (Winkfield)Presbyt.

1. Also entered under Somersetshire

19. John Haddesley	House of Anthony Cooke and Stephen Haskett, New Sarum...	Presbyt.
20. William Hughes	His house, Marlborough	Cong.
21. Richard Hunt, of New Sarum	General	Presbyt.
22. William Hunt, of New Sarum	General	Presbyt.
23. Philip Hunton	His house, Westbury	Cong.
24. Thomas Long	His house at Little Amesbury	Anabap.
25. Anthony Mauks	Of Alton in Barnes	Cong.
26. William Mayo	His house, Po(u)lshot	Presbyt.
27. James Nobbs ¹ , of Westpor(t)	General	Baptist.
28. Thomas Okey	House of Widow Fidsall, Devizes...	Baptist.
29. James Pearson	House of Sir Bulstrode Whitelocke, Chilton Lodge	Cong.
30. Henry Pen	His house at Broadshalk	Anabap.
31. John Phip	His house at Teffont	Presbyt.
32. William Pick, of Malmesbury	General	Anabap.
33. John Rede, of Birdlime, tithing of Porton	General	Anabap.
34. Thomas Roswell, of Fearne	General	Presbyt.
35. Robert Rowsall	His house, Clarke (Clack)	Presbyt.
36. Benjamin Rutty	His house, Seen(d)	Presbyt.
37. Thomas Rutty, of Trowbridge	General	Presbyt.
38. William Rutty	House of Abraham Little, Whitby (Whitley)	Anabap.
39. Timothy Sacheverell ² ...	Enford	Presbyt.
40. Henry Sharpwell, of Bradford	General	Anabap.
41. Compton South	His house in Donhead	Presbyt.
42. Joseph Swaffield	His own house, New Sarum	Presbyt.
43. Thomas Taylor	His own house, New Sarum	Presbyt.
44. John Uzzall, of Deverill Longbridge...	General	Baptist.
45. Nathaniel Webb	His house, Bromham	Presbyt.
46. Obadiah Wills, of the Devizes	General	Cong.
47. James Wise ³	House of Thomas Batt, Salisbury...	Anabap.

WORCESTERSHIRE

1. Thomas Badland	House of William Cheatle, Worcester	Presbyt.
2. Thomas Baldwin	His house, Kidderminster	Presbyt.
3. Jarvis Bryan	His house, Old Swinford	Presbyt.
4. Joseph Cooper	His house, Kingsnorton	Presbyt.
5. Richard Fincher	House of Richard Cornton, Worcester	Cong.
6. David Jones	His house, Dudley, Salop (?Wor- cester)	Cong.
7. Richard Moore	His own house, Weathercock-hill ...	Presbyt.

1. Also entered under Gloucestershire.

2. Also entered under Dorsetshire.

3. Perhaps entered under Hampshire.

8. Henry Osland¹ His house, Bewdley Presbyt.
 9. William Randall His house, Ombersley Cong.
 10. Joseph Read Stambridge (? Stourbridge) Presbyt.
 11. Richard Serjeant His house, Hagley Presbyt.
 12. John Spilsbury His own house, Bromsgrove Cong.
 13. John Westmakote House of Giles Lawrence, Broadway Cong.
 14. Richard Wolley
 (Woolly), (Wollice) ... His house, Worcester Presbyt.
 House of Elizabeth Stirrup, Worcester.

15. Thomas Worden² His house, Broadway Cong.
 16. George Wright His house, Kingsnorton Presbyt.

YORKSHIRE

1. Robert Armitage Lilbury House, near Holbeck Presbyt.
 2. Richard Astley House of John Robinson, Hull Indep.
 3. William Bagshaw House of William Garlick, Denting
 (Denton) Presbyt.
 4. Samuel Bayley His house in Morley Cong.
 5. William Benton His house, Thurscooe Presbyt.
 6. Eli Bentley His house, Halifax Presbyt.
 7. Thomas Birbwick
 (Burbeck) His house, Sheffield Presbyt.
 8. Matthew Bloome House of Arthur Powell, Attercliffe. Presbyt.
 9. Theophilus Browning House of William Wombell, York ... Baptist.
 10. John Buxton House of George Payler, Nun-
 munckton Presbyt.
 11. Thomas Byrdsall, of
 York General Presbyt.
 12. James Calvert His house, York Presbyt.
 13. Luke Clayton, of
 Rotheram General Presbyt.
 14. Samuel Clayton His house, Rotherham Presbyt.
 15. Samuel Coates His house, Wath Presbyt.
 16. Robert Cooke House of Elizabeth Wentworth,
 Broadsworth Presbyt.
 17. James Collier House of Sarah Grimshaw,
 Guis(e)ley Indep.
 18. Richard Coore His house in Tonge Antinomian.
 19. John Darnton His house, West Tanfield Presbyt.
 20. Joseph Dawson His house, Birstall Presbyt.
 His house, Halifax.
 21. John Denton House of John Scurr, Osgoodby
 Grange, North Riding Presbyt.
 22. Nathan Denton House of Silvanus Rich, near
 Peniston Presbyt.
 23. Robert Dickenson His house in Fishlake Cong.
 24. John Donkinson, of
 York General Presbyt.
 25. James Duncanson His house, Selby Presbyt.
 26. Robert Durant House of Mr. Fisher, Sheffield Cong.
 27. Henry Forbes House of James Brookes, Elling-
 thorpe (Ellenthorpe) Presbyt.
 28. Richard Franckland ... His house, Rushmilne Presbyt.
 29. Michael Gargrave His house, Bradford Presbyt.
 30. Jonathan Grant His house, Hurnexo (Thurnesco)
 Grange Presbyt.

1. Also entered under Staffordshire.

2. Also entered under Berkshire.

31. John Gunter	His house, Helaugh	Cong.
32. John Hall	His house in Thornton, Bradford parish	Cong.
33. Rowland Hancock	His house, Shircliffe	Presbyt.
34. James Hartley, of Guiseley	General	Indep.
	House of John Hardaker, Guiseley.	
	His own house, Kildwicke in Craven.	
35. William Hawden (Haudon)	His house in Sherburn	Presbyt.
	The Whitehouse, Sherburn.	
36. Oliver Heywood	His own house, Halifax	Presbyt.
	House of John Butterworth, Halifax.	
37. John Hobson	Kirksandall Hall	Cong.
38. Richard Hobson	House of James Brooke, Ellenthorpe	Presbyt.
39. Joseph Holdsworth	His house, Wakefield	Presbyt.
40. Josias Houldsworth	House of Elizabeth Reyner, Heckmondwicke, parish of Birstall.....	Cong.
41. John Issot, jun.	His house, Horbery	Cong.
42. James Jaile	House of Jaines Moxon, Leeds	Presbyt.
43. Thomas Johnson	His house, Sandal Magna	Presbyt.
44. Josuah Kirby	His house, Wakefield	Presbyt.
45. Nathaniel Lamb, of York	General	Presbyt.
46. William Locker, Bridlington	General	Presbyt.
47. John Long	Wakefield	Presbyt.
48. William Luck (Luke)	His house, Bridlington	Presbyt.
49. Christopher Marshall	House in Topcliffe, Yorkshire, formerly belonging to the Savills, now sub-divided between several clothiers	Cong.
50. Richard Maulton	Of Beverley	Presbyt.
51. Jeremiah Milner	House of Lady Roades, Haughton ..	Cong.
52. Peter Nailer	House of Boniface Cooper, Pomfret..	Presbyt.
53. Christopher Nesse	Mainriding House, Leeds	Cong.
54. Edward Newton	House of William Harrison, All Saints' parish, Leeds	Presbyt.
55. John Noble	House of Leonard Ward, Tanshelfe, West Riding	Presbyt.
56. Thomas Ojiver	House of John Mares, Newland	Indep.
57. John Packland	House of John Newton, Anlaby, near Hull	Indep.
58. Edward Pryme	His house, Sheffield	Presbyt.
	Malthouse of Robert Brilsworth, Sheffield.	
59. Christopher Richard-son	House of William Cotton, Denby ..	Presbyt.
60. John Rogers, Lartington	General	Presbyt.
61. John Rookes	His house, Westhall in Hatfield	Cong.
62. Thomas Root	House of Samuel Goodall, Bremely..	Presbyt.
63. James Sale	His own house, Leeds	Presbyt.
64. Thomas Sharpe	His own house, Leeds	Presbyt.
65. Joseph Shaw	Houses of William Kookby, Ack- north (Ackworth), and Shellove.	Presbyt.

66. John Showden
(Hawden) His house, Sherburne Presbyt.
67. Richard Stretton House of Francis Richardson,
Cawood Presbyt.
68. Richard Taylor House of John Wadworth, Swath.....Cong.
House of Mr. Fisher, Sheffield.
69. John Thellwall His house, Wistow Presbyt.
70. Richard Thorp His house, Hopton Presbyt.
71. Cornelius Todd,
Healy Manor General Presbyt.
72. Mark Triggatt Kirksandall Hall Cong.
73. Thomas Walker His own house, Horton, near Brad-
ford Anabap.
74. George Ward His house, Bradford Cong.
75. Noah Ward His house, Little Askham Presbyt.
76. Ralph Ward House of Brian Dawson, Outgate.....Indep.
77. Richard Warham House of Nilcock, Badsworth...Presbyt.
78. Richard Whitehurst ... West Hall in Hatfield Cong.
79. Peter Williams His house, York Presbyt.
80. Joseph Wilson House of Richard Barnes, Hull ...Présbyt.
81. Robert Woolhouse His house, Clapwell Cong.

LOCALITY NOT DEFINED

1. Francis Bampfield General A Nonconforming minister.
2. Richard Baxter General A Nonconforming minister.
3. John Frankland General Presbyt.
4. Timothy Hall General Presbyt.

WALES.

BRECONSHIRE

1. Thomas Evans Llanavaure (? Llanafanfawr) Baptist.
2. Lewis Pritherech House of David Williams, Llanvi-
gavin (? Llanvigan) Indep.
3. David Williams, of
Tolgarth (Talgarth) ...General Indep.

CARDIGANSHIRE

1. James Davies¹ His house in Cardigan Cong.
2. Morgan Howell House of John James, Lambadarne-
odyn (Llanbadarn-odyn) Cong.
3. Evan Hughes House of David Hughes, Kellan
(Cellan) Cong.
4. David Jones Pencarreg, and his house, L(l)andewi
Brevy (Brefi) Cong.

CARMARTHENSHIRE

1. James Davies¹ House of John James, Kenarth
(Cenarth) Cong.
2. Stephen Hughes House of Evan Morris, Llanstephen
parish, and Widow Jenkins,
Penkader Cong.

1. One and the same person.

CARNARVONSHIRE

1. Ellis Rowland His house, Carnarvon Presbyt.
2. John Rowland His house, Yin-y-crye Indep.
3. William Rowland His house, Pentirik (Pentarich),
Pwllheli Indep.
4. Ellise Williams His house, Lancybi (Llangybi) Presbyt.
5. John Williams His house, Tuyncoied (Tyncoied)....Cong.

DENBIGHSHIRE

1. John Evans House of Edward Kenricke, Wrexham.Cong.
2. Richard Jones Ruabon Cong.
3. William Jones His house, Plas Teake (Teg) Cong.
4. Jonathan Roberts His house in Llanvaire (Llanfair) Cong.
5. Philip Rogers House of Roger Kynaston, Ruabon ...Cong.
6. Daniel Williams of
Wrexham General Presbyt.
7. William Winn His house, Ruabon Cong.

FLINTSHIRE

1. Philip Henry His house, Malpas Presbyt.

GLAMORGAN

1. Jacob Christophers ...House of Lewis Alward, Kneffig
(Kenfig) Indep.
2. Watkin Cradock His house, Newton Indep.
3. Marmaduke Harris His house, Swansea Indep.
4. Daniel Higgs His house, Swansea Cong.
5. Thomas John House of William John, Eglwissilan
(Eglwsilan) Cong.
6. Samuel Jones House of Eve Christopher, Cow-
bridge Presbyt.
7. Samuel Jones House of Rees Powell, in Coy-
trehen (Goytrehen), and his
house Langwyd (Llangyn-
wydd) Presbyt.
8. Samuel Jones His house, Margam Indep.
9. Thomas Joseph His house, Bridgend Anabap.
10. Josuah Miller House of Morgan Thomas, Wenvoe
parish Presbyt.
11. Robert Morgan House of Joseph Franck(lin),
Langennyth, Carmarthenshire
(Glamorgan) Anabap.
12. Howell Thomas House of William Andrews, Newton.Anabap.
13. Lewis Thomas House of William Dykes, Swansea..Anabap.
14. Robert Thomas His house, Ragland (Raglan) Cong.
15. Henry Williams House of Howell Rees, Merthyr Indep.

MERIONETH

1. Hugh Owen His house in Llanegrynn Cong.

MONTGOMERY

1. Richard Price His house, Gwynly Cong.
2. Hugh Rogers His house, Welshpool Presbyt.
Welshpool Cong.

PEMBROKESHIRE

1. Peregrine PhilippsHis house and that of Richard Maylor, of HaverfordwestCong.
2. Jenkin JonesHis house in Kilgerran (Cilgerran) ...Cong.

RADNORSHIRE

1. William GreeneHis house, LlandrindodBaptist.
2. John Hamer LlanbisterCong.
3. Maurice GriffithBeg(u)ildyCong. or Presbyt.
4. Richard GriffithHis house, Beg(u)ildyPresbyt.
5. Owen MorganHis house, Beg(u)ildyPresbyt.
6. Edward OwenGlasscomb (Glascwm)Cong.

CHANNEL ISLANDS

1. Charles de la March ...His house, St. Peter's Port parish, GuernseyPresbyt.
2. Thomas MarchantHis house, St. Sampson parish, GuernseyPresbyt.
3. Daniel PerchardHis house, St. Sampson parish GuernseyPresbyt.

PLACE LICENCES

In addition to the places mentioned in the personal licences, the following were licensed:—

ENGLAND.

BEDFORDSHIRE

1. House of John Spring, Great BarfordCong.
2. House of John Fenn, St. Paul's, BedfordCong.
3. House of John Cousins, BeestonCong.
4. House of John Ward, BiggleswadeCong.
5. Houses of George Cockaine and James Wilson, Cardington...Cong.
6. House of Henry Whiteman, CardingtonCong.
7. House of Gideon Fisher, CarltonCong.
8. House of Peter Yorke, DeanCong.
9. House of Robert Holdstock, Elston (Elstow)Cong.
10. House of Elizabeth Hawkins, FleethavenCong.
11. House of John Avenen, Hawne (s)Cong.
12. House of Henry Savage, of Milton ErnestCong.
13. House of Richard Ravens, Thorncott, at NorthbillCong.
14. House of Thomas Robynson, Little Odell (Odell)Presbyt.
15. House of Widow Cobble, PottonPresbyt.

BERKSHIRE

1. Houses of John Dew and Catherine Blanchard, Abingdon...Presbyt.
2. House of Peter Stevens, Ap(p)leton, Oxfordshire (Berkshire)Presbyt.
3. Houses of Benjamin Jones and Mary Hans, Chosly (Cholsey)Presbyt.
4. House of Thomas Jeffrey, CookhamPresbyt.
5. House of Richard Sayer, HagbournePresbyt.
6. House of Daniel Read, HungerfordPresbyt.
7. House of Philip Garrett, Langborne WoodlandPresbyt.
8. House of Major Dunch, PuseyPresbyt.
9. House of Mary Kenton, ReadingBaptist.

10. House of Richard Hunt, Reading	Presbyt. and Indep.
11. Houses of Griffin Bully (Griffith Bubby) and Richard Ellis, Reading	Presbyt. and Indep.
12. House of Richard Lodge, Sandhurst	Presbyt.
13. House of — Wyatt, Shippond (Shippon)	Presbyt.
14. House of George Binham, South Mor(e)ton	Cong.
15. House of Mr. Rusden, Wallingford	Cong.
16. House of John Chesman, Wantinge (Wantage)	Presbyt.
17. House of Elizabeth Hall, Wokingham	Presbyt.
18. House of Alice Haw, Wokingham	Presbyt.

BUCKINGHAMSHIRE

1. Barn of Christopher Webb, Aylesbury	Presbyt.
2. House of — Dunston, in Aylesbury	Presbyt.
3. House of Lady Terrill, Castle Thorpe	—
4. House of John Shepper, Foscott, Northants (Bucks.)	—
5. House of George Martin, Haversham	Presbyt.
6. House of William Smith, Newport Pagnell	Presbyt.
7. House of John Parkins, Tingwick (Tingewick)	—
8. House of Henry Harding, Wakton (? Whaddon)	Presbyt.
9. House of John Walker, Westbury	Presbyt.
10. Houses of Rowland Steadman and Samuel Clerke, Winchendon	Presbyt.
11. House of Edmund Carter, Wolverton	Presbyt.
12. House of Alice Westoll, High Wycombe	Presbyt.

CAMBRIDGESHIRE

1. House of Edward Gardiner, Barrell Hightown	Cong.
2. House of Robert Barces, Barrington	Presbyt.
3. House of Bryan Kitchinman, Cambridge	Cong.
4. House of Lancelot Hooper, St. Andrew's parish, Cambridge	Cong. and Presbyt.
5. House of Downham Yeomans, parish of St. Mary the Less, Cambridge	Presbyt. and Cong.
6. House of Richard Thurlow, St. Andrew's parish, Cambridge	Cong.
7. House of Ann Sleighton, Chipingham (Chippenham)	Cong.
8. House of Isaac Fisher, Chipingham (Chippenham)	Presbyt.
9. House of Richard Conder, Croydon	Cong.
10. House of Robert Milwood, March, Isle of Ely	Presbyt.
11. House of Robert Hilton, Passon (Parson's) Drive, Isle of Ely	Presbyt.
12. House of Widow Sherwood, Ely	Anabap.
13. House of John Day, Eversden	Presbyt.
14. House of John Bull, Fen Drayton	Presbyt.
15. House of John Woodbridge, Hadenham	Cong.
16. House of Widow Pate, Harston	Anabap.
17. House of Anthony Sayer, Hin(x)ton	Cong.
18. House of Christopher Sherwin, Kennet	Presbyt.
19. House of Thomas Meeres, March	Anabap.
20. House of Benjamin Metcalfe, Melbourne	Anabap.
21. House of Edmund Avy, Ockington	Cong.
22. House of Francis Ewesden, Orwell	Presbyt.
23. House of John Hopper, Sharpnwend	Presbyt.
24. House of Thomas Maulden, Soham	—
25. House of — Browning, Stow	Cong.
26. House of William Outlar, Stretham, Ely	Cong.
27. House of Thomas Gotobed, Stretham	Anabap.
28. House of John Loveing, Swaffham Prior	—

29. House of Thomas Waller, Swaffham Prior Anabap.
 30. House of William Davis, Trumpington Anabap.
 31. House of William Pease, Triplow Cong.
 32. House of John Gates, Whittlesey Baptist.
 33. House of John Dennis, Wellbram (Wilbraham) Magna Anabap.
 34. House of Francis Duckins, Willingham Presbyt.
 35. House of Nathaniel Hunt, Wisbech Cong.
 36. House of Joshua Johnson, Wisbech Anabap.

CHESHIRE

1. House of John Burgesse, Astbury Parish Cong.
 2. Houses of Ralph Alsager and Hugh Kent, (Bart(h)omley) Presbyt.
 3. House of Richard Steeles, Barthomley Presbyt.
 4. House of Robert Steele, Barthomley Presbyt.
 5. House of Robert Widson, Bidston Cong.
 6. House of Joseph Whishall, Great Badworth (Budworth)
 7. House of Robert Warburton, the Grange (Grange
 Lane, Chester) Presbyt.
 8. Houses of John Glendole and Hugh Harvey, Chester Presbyt.
 9. House of Henry Williams, Chester Indep.
 10. House of William Alcock, Fulshaw in Wilcaston Presbyt.
 11. House of Edward Stone, Macclesfield Presbyt.
 12. House of John Whiteakers, Macclesfield
 13. House of John Mottram, Mottram Presbyt.
 14. House of Robert Booth, Mottram, Longdendale Presbyt.
 15. House of John Malden, Nantwich Cong.
 16. House of Robert Fogg, Nantwich Presbyt.
 17. House of Andrew Lowe, Neston Presbyt.
 18. House of John Bagot, Over Presbyt.
 19. House of Philip Wright, Over Pe(o)ver Presbyt.
 20. New built meeting-house, Winkle (Winkle in Pres(t)bury) Presbyt.
 21. House of Thomas Clarke, Rainaw (Rainow) Presbyt.
 22. House of Thomas Hamnett, (W) Renbury Cong.
 23. House of Roger Turner, Sandbach parish Cong.
 24. House of John Stonier, Sandbach Presbyt.
 25. House of Widow Broome, Stockport Cong.
 26. House of Henry Pemberton, Upton Presbyt.
 27. House of Edward Litherland, Wallasey Presbyt.
 28. House of William Linny, Wenslow Indep.
 29. House of Edward Deane, Lower Withington Presbyt.

CORNWALL.

1. House of Anne Silly, called Helligan, Bodmin Presbyt.
 2. House of Mark Facy and James Shepheard, Bridgrule Presbyt.
 3. House of Valentine Parrise, East Looe Presbyt.
 4. House of Andrew Trevill, at Eathe in St. Winnow
 5. House of John Bowden, Grampound Presbyt.
 6. House of George Flammack, Guendron Presbyt.
 7. House of Robert Wine, Landilp (Landulph) Presbyt.
 8. House of Anthony Rowse, Landrake Presbyt.
 9. House of John Rouse, Landrick (Landrake) Presbyt.
 10. House of William Elliott, Lostwithiel Presbyt.
 11. The long loft in Park Hellen belonging to Thomas
 Smales, of Penryn Anabap.
 12. House of James Bowden, Probus Presbyt.
 13. House of Samuel Kekewich, St. Germans Presbyt.
 14. House of Charles Morton, St. Ives Presbyt.
 15. House of William Tomes and Nicholas Tiach, Saltash Presbyt.
 16. House of Peter Harris, Saltash Presbyt.

17. House of James Moyl, Stratton Presbyt.
 18. House of William Hocker, St. Breock, Wadebridge Anabap.

CUMBERLAND

1. House of Richard Egleshold, Allonby Presbyt.
2. House of William Atkinson, Brantam, Brampton Presbyt.
3. House of George Larkham, Bidekirke Presbyt.
4. House of Edward James, Blackfriars, Carlisle Presbyt.
5. House of Barbary Studholme, Carlisle Indep.
6. House of Richard Lowry, Cockermouth Presbyt.
7. House of — Wilson, Croftield _____
8. House of Gawen Wrenn, Crosthwaite Presbyt.
9. House of John Casse, Embleton Presbyt.
10. House of Thomas Barnes, Holme Cultram Indep.
11. House of William Jameson, Kirkoswald Presbyt.
12. House of Thomas Therkeld, Kirk Oswald _____
13. House of Thomas Langhorne, Penrith (Penrith) Cong.
14. House of Thomas Younghusband, Torpenhow Presbyt.
15. House of Isabella Dixon, Whitehaven Indep.

DERBYSHIRE

1. House of John Otefield, Alfreton Cong.
2. House of Joseph Newham, Almaston (Osmaston ?) Presbyt.
3. House of Abraham Crosland, Appleby Presbyt.
4. House of Thomas Holden, Appleby Presbyt.
5. House of John Buxton and Richard Tetterdon, Ashbourne Presbyt.
6. House of John Batch, Asford Presbyt.
7. House of Samuel Sleigh, Ashover Presbyt.
8. House of Robert Coates, Ashover, Dorset (Derbyshire) Presbyt.
9. House of Robert Hill, Aston Presbyt.
10. House of Robert Hibbert, Albotton (Atholton) Presbyt.
11. House of John Reeves, Bellisford Presbyt.
12. House of Samuel Charles, Belper Presbyt.
13. House of Robert Ault, Bigging Presbyt.
14. House of Philip Morrice, Butterley Presbyt.
15. House of Thomas Parker, Carsington Presbyt.
16. House of Thomas Sanders, Ca(u)ldwell Presbyt.
17. House of Sarah Burton, Cau(l)dwell Presbyt.
18. House of Richard Mansfield, Chadson (Chaddesden) _____
19. House of George Poynton, Chesterfield Cong.
20. House of Peter Perkinson, Chesterfield Presbyt.
21. House of George White, Chesterfield Cong.
22. House of Thomas Wilson, Coldmer Presbyt.
23. House of Robert Jefferies, Compton Presbyt.
24. House of Matthew Hancock, Dale Cong.
25. House of Widow Minonot, near Dale Cong.
26. New-built meeting-house, Delp, Duffield parish _____
27. House of Jonathan Staniforth, Derby Presbyt.
- 27a. House of John Taylor, Derby Presbyt.
28. Houses of Francis Gilbert and Anne Burne, Derby Presbyt.
29. House of William Hammersley, Derby Cong.
30. House of Francis Stephenson, Dronfield Anabap.
31. Houses of Margarey Pegg and Elizabeth French, Duffield Presbyt.
32. House of William Ryley, Duffield Presbyt.
33. House of Gilbert Sommers, Duffield Presbyt.
34. Houses of William Harrison and Elizabeth Haywood, Little Eaton Presbyt.
35. House of William Lault, Edlaston Presbyt.
36. House of John Ashton, Glossop Presbyt.

37. House of George Booth, Glossop	Anabap.
38. House of Andrew Moorewood, Hallows	Presbyt.
39. House of Henry Godier, Heanor	Presbyt.
40. House of Robert Wild, near Heanor	Presbyt.
41. House of John Oates, Heartshay	Cong.
42. House of David Stone, Hognaston	Presbyt.
43. House of Robert Stone, Hallington (Hollington)	Presbyt.
44. House of John Greene, Hallington (Hollington)	Presbyt.
45. House of James Ward, Hoonhouse	Presbyt.
46. House of Francis Jerham, Langley	Presbyt.
47. House of Henry Wavens, Loxo(e).....	Presbyt.
48. House of William Sterland, Marehay	Presbyt.
49. House of Thomas Walton, Morylease	Presbyt.
50. House of William Amble, Pentridge	Cong.
51. House of Ann George, Repton	Presbyt.
52. House of John Cowper, Ripley	Presbyt.
53. House of William Blundston, Sandyacre	Presbyt.
54. House of William Harris, Southwinfield	Cong.
55. House of John Stone, Stenerson	Presbyt.
56. House of Thomas Bishop, Stevenson	Presbyt.
57. House of John Williamson, Twyford	Indep.
58. House of John Wigley, Wirksworth	Presbyt.
59. House of John Buxton, Wirksworth	Presbyt.
60. House of Robert Cliffe, Wold	Presbyt.

DEVONSHIRE

1. Houses of Thomas Gribble and Peter Homes, Appledore...	Presbyt.
2. House of John Ayer, Arthrington (Artington)	Presbyt.
3. House of Richard Sappers (Tapper, or Tupper), Ashburton..	Presbyt.
4. House of William Cholwich, parish of Auton (Aveton) Giffard	Presbyt.
5. House of Tristram Cop, Axminster	Presbyt.
6. Bartholomew Ashwood's house, Axminster	Indep.
7. Houses of John Ball and Thomas Bryant, Bampton	Baptist.
8. House of William Bartlett, Bideford	Cong.
9. House of Joane Strang, Bideford	Indep.
10. House of Edward Hutchenson, Bishop's Clift parish	Cong.
11. House of Richard Burthage, Boudon	Presbyt.
12. House of John Potom, Bradnidge (Bradninch)	Presbyt.
13. House of Eleanor Crowte, Brixham	Presbyt.
14. House of Robert Worth, Brixton	Presbyt.
15. House of Elizabeth Upton, Brix(t)on	Presbyt.
16. House of Nicholas Knight, Broadhembury, Wilts (Devon)...	Presbyt.
17. William Fry's house in Buckerell	Presbyt.
18. William Payne's house in Buckerell	Presbyt.
19. John Seerle's house at Weech, in Buckerell parish	Presbyt.
20. House of Daniel Warren, Buckfastleigh	Cong.
21. House of William Clapp, Chidderick (Chidiock)	Presbyt.
22. House of William Venner, Chittlehampton parish	Presbyt.
23. House of Andrew Lukes at Ford, Chevelstone (Chivelstone) parish	Presbyt.
24. House of Humphrey Saxon, Chudleigh	Presbyt.
25. House of Digory Cocks, Chimley (Chulmleigh)	Presbyt.
26. House of John Bowning, Chumleigh	Presbyt.
27. House of Widow Drake, Culliton (Collaton or Colyton) ..	Presbyt.
28. House of Bernard Dwight, Cullison (Collaton)	Presbyt.
29. House of Christopher Clark, Collumpton	Presbyt.
30. House of John Smith, Collumpton	Cong.
31. House of Adam Norman, Collumpton	Presbyt.
32. House of Ann Shutt, Crediton	Presbyt.

32a. House of Henry Berry, Crediton	Presbyt.
33. House of Catherine Norcot, in the East part of Crediton ...	Presbyt.
34. House of John Knight, in the West part of Crediton	Presbyt.
34a. House of George Brooke, Cruse M orchard	Presbyt.
35. House of James Searle, Darlington	Presbyt.
36. House of John Kempster, Dartmouth	Presbyt.
37. House of Richard Stevens, Denbury	Presbyt.
38. House of (Elizabeth) Isaacks, Dinscombe in Salcombe ...	Presbyt.
39. House of Sidwell Hammond, East Down	Presbyt.
40. House of John Broadbeare, Dunkeswell	Presbyt.
41. House of — Sackleigh, Ermington	Presbyt.
42. House of John Pym, Exeter	Presbyt.
43. House of Susannah Marshall, Exeter	Presbyt.
44. Thomas Crispin's house in Exeter	Presbyt.
45. John Bayland's house in Exeter	Presbyt.
46. Thomas Sheer's house in Exeter	Presbyt.
47. Anthony Smith's house in Exeter	Presbyt.
48. Robert Atkins' house in Exeter	Presbyt.
49. Thomas Trescot's house in Exeter	Presbyt.
50. Nowell Pearse's house in Exeter	Presbyt.
51. John Palmer's house in Exeter	Presbyt.
52. House of Thomas Ford, Exeter	Presbyt.
53. House of Adam Pearse, Exeter	Anabap.
54. House of Nicholas Eveleigh, Exeter	Cong.
55. House of Philip Coad, Famdon	Presbyt.
56. House of Widow Lambe, Fretelstock (Frithelstock)	Cong.
56a. House of Robert Michell, Gittisham	Presbyt.
57. House of John Haldridge, Halberton	Presbyt.
58. House of William Chane, Halberton	Presbyt.
59. House of Humphrey Carslake, Bowood in Harpford	Cong.
60. House of William Atkins, Hartland parish	Presbyt.
61. House of John Bradley, of Hemiocke	Presbyt.
62. House of Samuel Serle, of Honiton	Anabap.
63. House of Peter Cole, Honiton	Anabap.
64. Meeting-house adjoining the schoolhouse, Honiton	Presbyt.
65. House of John Parson(s), Kentisbearne	Presbyt.
67. New built meeting-house belonging to John Hick(e)s, Kingsbridge	(Presbyt.)
68. House of Richard Baker, Kingsbridge	Presbyt.
69. House of John Not, Laptord	Presbyt.
70. House of James Crealock, Littleham	Presbyt.
71. House of Daniel Cudmore, Loxbeer	Presbyt.
72. House of Robert Middleton, Luppit	Presbyt.
73. Thomas Wellman's house in Luppit	Presbyt.
74. Silvester Rockey's house in Luppit	Presbyt.
75. John Braddick's house in Luppit	Presbyt.
76. House of Thomas Bartlett, Marldon	Presbyt.
77. House of John Webber, Membury	Presbyt.
78. House of George Mortimer, Milton in Harberton	Presbyt.
79. House of Thomas Roberts, Milton	Presbyt.
80. House of Widow Skinner, Little Modbury	Presbyt.
81. House of Humphry Tiller, South Molton	Presbyt.
82. House of Digory Cole (or Calts) South Molton	Presbyt.
83. House of Andrew Kent, South Molton	Presbyt.
84. House of Widow Martyne, Nether Fxe	Presbyt.
85. House of William Yeo, Newton Abbot	Presbyt.
86. Houses of Anthony Downe and Adam Mam, Northam....	Presbyt.
87. House of John Syms, Ogwell	Presbyt.
88. House of Alice Serle, a widow, Olliscomb	Presbyt.
89. House of Martha Slade, Otterton	Presbyt.
90. House of Warwick Ledgingham, called Flexton, Ottery St. Mary	Presbyt.

91. House of John More and Robert Collings (Collins),
Ottery St. Mary Presbyt.
 92. House of John Maudit, St. Mary Otterton (Ottery) Presbyt.
 93. House of Ambrose Hitchcock, Plott, near Thorncombe Presbyt.
 94. House of John Glanvill, Plymouth Presbyt.
 95. Houses of Thomas Yeabsley and Samuel Brett, Plymouth...Presbyt.
 96. House of Thomas Martyn, Plymouth Presbyt.
 97. House of Mary Davis, Plumpton Mary (Plumpton St. Mary).Presbyt.
 98. House of John Searle, Plympton Mary (Presbyt.)
 99. House of Richard Herring, Quenn (Kenn) parish Presbyt.
 100. House of Nicholas Bulhead, Romansleigh
 101. House of Dorothy Heard, Rose Ash Presbyt.
 102. House of John Bastone, Salcombe Presbyt.
 103. House of Richard Smith, Salcombe Presbyt.
 104. House of John Balsters, Sandford (Sampford) Peverell...Presbyt.
 105. House of William Webber, Sampford Peverell.....Cong.
 106. House of William Jetson, Shaw (Shaugh) Presbyt.
 107. House of William Bowman, Shebbeare Presbyt.
 108. House of William Rowe, Shobrook Presbyt.
 109. House of Richard Carslake in Buckley, in Sidbury Presbyt.
 110. House of Richard Brooks, Sidmouth Presbyt.
 111. House of Jane French, Sidmouth Presbyt. and Indep.
 112. House of William Burton, Silferton (Silverton) Presbyt.
 113. House of John Hodges, called Moulscomb, Stokenham Presbyt.
 114. House of Widow Merrin, Stonehouse Presbyt.
 115. House of Widow Pile, Talliton (Talaton) Presbyt.
 116. House of David Conde (Condy), Tavistock Cong.
 117. House of Thomas Mall, Tavistock Cong.
 118. New meeting-house of David Condy, Tavistock Presbyt.
 119. House of John Blundell, Tiverton Presbyt.
 120. House of George Hodder, Topsham Presbyt.
 121. House of John Sealy, Topsham Presbyt.
 122. House of William Green, Topsham Presbyt.
 123. House of James Rawle, Wells Street, Great Torrington...Presbyt.
 124. House of Anthony Rudd, Great Torrington...Presbyt. and Indep.
 125. House of Roger More, Great Torrington Presbyt. and Indep.
 126. The meeting-house in Totnes Cong.
 127. House of John Forly, Totnes Presbyt.
 128. House of William Stooke, Whitecombe House, Trusham.. Presbyt.
 129. House of John Stooke, T(r)usham parish Presbyt.
 130. House of Nathan Jacobs, Barecombe, Ugbrook Presbyt.
 131. House of Phillipa Hill, Wood, Uplummon (Upplowman)...Presbyt.
 132. House of John Facy, Werrington Presbyt.
 133. House of William Yeo, parish of Woolbrough
(Wolborough) Presbyt.
 134. House of Andrew Holwill, Woodberry Presbyt.

DORSETSHIRE

1. House of Humphrey Miller, Abbotsbury Cong.
2. House of Lancelot Cox, Beaminster Presbyt.
3. House of John Locke, Beaminster Presbyt.
4. Room under the Market-house, Beaminster Presbyt.
5. House of Richard Spicer, Blan(d)ford, Devon (Dorset) Cong.
6. House of John Paige, Blan(d)ford Cong.
7. House of William Sampson, Bothenhampton Presbyt
8. House of Elizabeth Hallett, Bridport Cong.
9. House of John Coutines, Bridport Cong.
10. House of Jocabod (? Ichabod) Hernes, Broadpoole Presbyt.
11. House of Edward Marks, Broadwindsor Presbyt.
12. Barn-house of Matthew Bragg, Burstock Presbyt.

13. House of Thomas Beer, Chiddiock	Cong.
14. House of Robert Scott, Chilockford (Chideockford)	Anabap.
15. House of William Toope, Chaldon parish	Cong.
16. House of John Hooper, Dalwood	Presbyt.
17. Houses of William Twiste, George Hammond, and Jasper Samways, Dorchester	Presbyt.
18. House of John Holland, Farrington (Farringdon)	Baptist.
19. House of John Ingram, Fordington	Cong.
20. House of Robert Bullen, Foulke (Folke)	Presbyt.
21. House of Robert Berren, Gillingham	Presbyt.
22. House of Thomas More, Hawkchurch	Presbyt.
23. House of George Fox, Hermitage	Cong.
24. House of Samuel Ball, Holton	Presbyt.
25. House of Henry Perkins, Horton	Cong.
26. House of Thomas Ball, Tarrant Kainson (Keynston)	Anabap.
27. House of Janies Keate, Leigh	Presbyt.
28. House of Margaret Fitzcame (? Fitzjames), Lew(e)stone	Presbyt.
29. House of Nathaniel Stevens, Milton Abbots (Abbas), Wilts (Dorset)	Presbyt.
30. House of George Filliter, sen., West Morden	Presbyt.
31. House of John Hussey, Wotcombe (Motcombe)	Presbyt.
32. House of Richard Forsey, Netherbury	Presbyt.
33. House of John Thorne, Newton (Maiden)	Presbyt.
34. House of William Bartlett, Over Compton	Presbyt.
35. House of John Cade, alias Cake, Our (Ower) parish	Cong.
36. House of Henry Weay, Petherbury (? Netherbury)	Presbyt.
37. House of Edward Taylor, Poole	Presbyt.
38. House of Richard Harris, Shaftesbury	Presbyt.
39. House of Joseph Ward, Shaston	Presbyt.
40. House of John Copson (Kapson), Sherborne	Presbyt.
41. House of Elizabeth Cooth, Sherborne	Presbyt.
42. House of Francis Ford and Katherine Chaffes, Sherborne	Presbyt.
43. House of James Hind, Stalbridge	Presbyt.
44. House of William Good, Stowes Provest (Stour Provest)	Presbyt.
45. House of Henry Light, Sturminster Marshall	Presbyt.
46. House of Dorothy Chapman (Chaplain), Wareham	Presbyt.
47. House of Esther Churchey, Weymouth	Presbyt.
48. House of Henry Pitfield, Whitechurch	Presbyt.
49. House of John Gifford, Wimborne	Presbyt.
50. House of Dame Woolfrey, Winterburne Kingston	Presbyt.

DURHAM

1. House of John Middleton, Darlington	Presbyt.
2. House of Cuthbert Cotesworth, the Westpans, near South Shields	Presbyt.
3. House of Cuthbert Peart, Standup of Wardell (Stanhope in Weardale)	Cong.
4. House of John Hornsbee, Standupa wordell (Stanhope in Wear Dale)	Presbyt.

ESSEX

1. House of Reginald Sumner, Billerkey (Billericay)	Presbyt.
2. House of Isaac Granddorge, Black Potley (Notley)	Presbyt.
3. House of Sarah Hight, Boyles	Presbyt.
4. House of Henry Imfers, Braintree	Presbyt.
5. Houses of John Palmer and Jeremiah Reeve, Chi(l)derditch	Presbyt.
6. House of William Grove, Coggeshall	Cong.
7. House of John Reynolds, Coppersall (Coopersale)	Presbyt.

8. Houses of John Petchy and Philip Dixon, CranhamPresbyt.
 9. House of Robert Greggs, DanburyPresbyt.
 10. House of Henry Hammond, Debdon—
 11. House of Elizabeth T(h)ompson, DedhamCong.
 12. Houses of Matthew Pinchbeck, and John Petite and
 Thomas Burges, Great DunmowPresbyt.
 13. House of Daniel Watts, Great Dunmore (Dunmow)Presbyt.
 14. House of John Peagroome, ElmsteadPresbyt.
 15. House of Richard Haylies, EppingCong.
 16. House of Thomas Mortlock, FinchingfieldPresbyt.
 17. House of Widow Suttle, HanvillPresbyt.
 18. House of James Adnett, Liberty of HaveringPresbyt.
 19. House of Henry Prier, Hutton—
 20. House of Daniel Andrews, Low Leyton (or Leytonstone)....Presbyt.
 21. House of Anne Brown, LittleburyPresbyt.
 22. House of Robert Camper, MaldenPresbyt.
 23. House of Mr. Harris, Marg(aret)ing parishPresbyt.
 24. House of George Toller, Marke TeyPresbyt.
 25. House of John Maskall, Monis (?)Presbyt.
 26. Room or Rooms in the house of Peter Fosterm,
 High OngarPresbyt.
 27. House of Thomas Coke, PebmarshPresbyt.
 28. House of Henry Hulanes, PiddleworthPresbyt.
 29. House of John Guttredg, Brittlewell (Prittlewell)Presbyt.
 30. House of Thomas Clarke, RaynePresbyt.
 31. House of Giles Firmin, RidgewellPresbyt.
 32. House of Samuel Wood, RomfordPresbyt.
 33. Houses of William Maskall and George Locksmith,
 RomfordPresbyt.
 34. House of John Reynolds, Great Sam(p)fordPresbyt.
 35. House of Edward Braden, Stapleford AbbotPresbyt.
 36. House of James Day, Stratford Sussex (? Essex)Presbyt.
 37. House of John Reynolds, ThaxtedPresbyt.
 38. House of Samuel Springham, UpminsterPresbyt.
 39. House of Samuel Slater, WalthamstowPresbyt.
 40. House of Charles Hatt, Great WarleyPresbyt.
 41. House of Ralph Taylor and John Bill, WealdPresbyt.
 42. House of — Bennett, North WealdPresbyt.
 43. House of John Springham, South WealdPresbyt.
 44. House of John Gunn, WeathersfieldPresbyt.
 45. House of Gamaliel Cornwall, WendenCong.
 46. House of Robert Plume, WickhamPresbyt.
 47. Houses of John Tylor and William Giles, WivenhoePresbyt.

GLOUCESTERSHIRE

1. House of Richard Davison, AshchurchCong.
 2. House of John Hanson, Ashton (Ashton)Cong.
 3. House of Elizabeth Bayly, BerkeleyPresbyt.
 4. House of Simon Tovey, St. James', BristolPresbyt.
 5. House of John Ceagar, BristolPresbyt.
 6. House of Jeremy Holwey, Cornstreet, BristolCong.
 7. House of Samuel Horsman, CampdenCong.
 8. House of John Kibble, Chipping SodburyAnabap.
 9. House of Widow Jane Palteeres, Cirencester—
 10. House of John Braine, Little DeanPresbyt.
 11. Houses of John Hawkins, and John White, DymockPresbyt.
 12. House of John Davy, Farmcoate, Salop (? Gloucester)—
 13. House of John Wall, GloucesterCong.
 14. House of Francis Yaats, GloucesterIndep.
 15. Houses of Thomas Webb and Elizabeth Bird, Hors(l)ey.....Cong.

16. House of Hannah Weale, Longhope	Presbyt.
17. House of John Gostlett, Marshfield	Presbyt.
18. House of Thomas Gostlett, Marshfield	Presbyt.
19. A barn at Nailsworth	Presbyt.
20. House of William Baker, Od(d)ington	Cong.
21. House of Samuel Smith, King's Stanley	Presbyt.
22. House of Giles Hancox (Hancock), Stretton	Cong.
23. House of Mary Cradock, Tedbury	Presbyt.
24. House of Mary Torry, Ul(e)y	Presbyt.
25. House of Richard Parker, Westerby	Presbyt.
26. House of William Beckett, Winchcombe	Cong.
27. House of Mary Purnell, Finchcombe (Winchcombe)	Presbyt.
28. House of — Smith, Woolian (? Woodland)	Presbyt.
29. Barn of Widow Wafford, Wotton-under-Edge	Presbyt.

HAMPSHIRE

1. House of Robert Greene, Andover.....	Presbyt.
2. House of Nathaniel Price, Andover.....	Presbyt.
3. House of Philip Bernard, Andover.....	Presbyt.
4. House of Richard Ventham, Andover	Indep.
5. House of Edward Goodyear, Bishop's Waltham.....	Baptist.
6. House of Albynus Knapman, Drockenhurst (Brockenhurst)...	Presbyt.
7. House of John Hildesley and William Marshall, Christchurch	Presbyt.
8. House of James Markes, Droxford	Cong.
9. House of Esther Oviel, Eling	Presbyt.
10. House of — Hopkins, Hozweil.....	Cong.
11. House of Margaret Darrant, Heeth (? Hythe)	Presbyt.
12. House of William Whitebread, West Court, Isle of Wight.....	Cong.
13. House of Mark Wight, Ca(r)i)sbrooke, Isle of Wight	Baptist.
14. House of David Wawell, Westcourt, Isle of Wight	Cong.
15. House of Daniel Haward, Lymington	Presbyt.
16. House of Widow Lisle, Moyles Court	Presbyt.
17. House of George Chitty, Nether Wallop	Cong.
18. House of Jonathan Tiller, Odiham	—
19. House of John Hancock, Ringwood	Presbyt.
20. House of Thomas Burbank, Romsey	Presbyt.
21. Houses of John Warren, Bredland and Romsey, Wilts. (Hants.)	Presbyt.
22. House of John Puckeridge, Romsey	Cong.
23. House of Richard Bunny, St. Mary Bourne	Anabap.
24. House of Widow Sanders, Sopley	Presbyt.
25. House of Henry Coxe, Southampton	Cong.
26. House of Dorothy Phillips, Southwick	Cong.
27. House of John Lawrence, Stanton parish, Southampton...	Presbyt.
28. House of Stephen Terry, Sutton	—
29. House of Mary Gaywood, Ti(t)chfield	Cong.
30. House of Elizabeth Poynter, Whitchurch	Indep.

HEREFORDSHIRE

1. House of John Woodyat, of Billfield	Presbyt.
2. House of John Bond, Bromyard	Presbyt.
3. House of Katherine Bowen, Eytон	Presbyt.
4. House of Edward Prae, Hereford	Baptist.
5. House of John Primerose, Hereford	Presbyt.
6. House of Thomas Seaborne, Hereford	Presbyt.
7. House of Sir John Holman, Kington	—
8. House of James Powles, Leominster	Presbyt.
9. House of Henry Seward, Leominster	Presbyt.

10. House of Frances Prichard, Leominster	.....	Anabap.
11. House of John Powell, Leominster	.....	Baptist.
12. House of James Peale, Leominster	.....	Presbyt.
13. House of David Jones, Mocouse (Moccas)	.....	Baptist.
14. House of John Hughes, Orleton	.....	Presbyt.
15. House of Thomas Hayward, Pencombe	.....	Presbyt.
16. House of William Gibbens, Upper Saby (Sapey)	.....	Presbyt.
17. House of George Primerose, Tedston, Delamere	.....	Presbyt.
18. House of Thomas Collins, Thornbury	.....	Presbyt.
19. House of Richard Whitall, W(h)arton	.....	Anabap.

HERTFORDSHIRE

1. House of Mr. Hill at Chesham (? Cheshunt)	.....	Cong.
2. House of William Eles, Flamstead	.....	Cong.
3. House of Elizabeth Madison, Little Hadham	.....	Presbyt.
4. House of — Cox, Hertford	.....	Cong.
5. House of Thomas Carter, Pirton	.....	Baptist.
6. House of John Wheeler, Royston	.....	Cong.
7. House of Robert Pemberton, St. Albans	.....	Cong.
8. House of Thomas Lion, Sawbridgeworth	.....	Presbyt.

HUNTINGDONSHIRE

1. House of Robert Astwood, Albestley (Abbotsley)	.....	Cong.
2. House of Thomas Lambert, Ramsey, Cambridgeshire (Hunts.)	.....	—
3. House of Joseph Rowlett, Rardy (? Raveley)	.....	Presbyt.
4. House of John Halsey, Woodhurst	.....	Presbyt.

KENT

1. House of John Savery, Ash parish, near Sandwich	.....	Presbyt. and Indep.
2. Houses of George Hadloe and Agnus (sic) Young, Ashford	.....	Indep.
3. House of Thomas Hughes, Beckenham	.....	—
4. House of Joanna Newden, Bennenden	.....	Presbyt.
5. Mistoll House, Chatham	.....	Presbyt.
6. House of Thomas Knight, Cockainhill	.....	—
7. House of Alexander Vines, Cranbrooke	.....	Anabap.
8. House of Ann Harris, Lower Deal	.....	Presbyt. and Cong.
9. House of Constant Woodman, Deal	.....	Presbyt. and Cong.
10. House of Elizabeth Hopden, Goadhurst	.....	—
11. House of Samuel Turke, Goadhurst	.....	—
12. House of — Marsh, Hythe	.....	Presbyt.
13. House of Robert Smith, Isle of Thanet	.....	Presbyt.
14. House of Lady Taylor, St. Fouth's Green, Maidstone	.....	Presbyt.
15. House of William Sexby, Middleton (? Milton)	.....	Baptist.
16. House of Peter Adams, Rolvenden	.....	Presbyt.
17. House of Joseph Credendon, Rolvenden	.....	Presbyt.
18. House of Thomas Dawson, Sandwich	.....	Presbyt.
19. House of Collett Key, Sandwich	.....	Cong.
20. House of John Walts, Sandwich	.....	Presbyt.
21. House of Thomas Foashe, Sutton	.....	Cong.
22. House of William Silcock, Tenterden	.....	Presbyt.
23. House of Thomas Knight, Westerham	.....	Presbyt.
24. House of Samuel Dawleing, West(e)r(h)am	.....	—
25. House of Thomas Atwell, Wingham	.....	—
26. House of Richard Tufton, Wittersham	.....	Presbyt.
27. House of Joshue Titerie, Woolwich	.....	Presbyt.

28. Room or rooms at Wotton Court, Wotton parish	Presbyt.
29. House of John Searles, Wye	Anabap.
30. Houses of Thomas Marchwicke and Widow Banbury	Presbyt.

LANCASHIRE

1. House of John Wood, Altington	Cong.
2. House of Abel Oldham, Ashton-under-Lyne	Presbyt.
3. House of John Thornton, Berks.....	Presbyt.
4. Houses of John Harwood, Richard Whitaker, Richard Coltham and Richard Sagar, Blackburn	Cong.
5. A new-built house on Langoe Green, Blackburn	Cong.
6. New erected meeting-house at Blackburn	_____
7. Meeting-house erected by the inhabitants of Blacklie, Manchester	_____
8. House of Robert Hall, Bolton	Presbyt.
9. Houses of Arthur Gardiner and James Rhodes, Bolton	Presbyt.
10. House of John Hurts, Bolton	Presbyt.
11. House of Robert Fletcher, Bolton	Presbyt.
12. Houses of John Mason and Adam Fearnside, Bolton	Presbyt.
13. New erected meeting-house at Bolton	Cong.
14. Barn of Richard Kay, Bury	Presbyt.
15. House of Abraham Wilkinson, Bury	Presbyt.
16. Houses of Margaret Hoult and Giles Unsworth, Bury	Presbyt.
17. House of William Rowlington, Carnell (Cartmell)	Cong.
18. Meeting-house, Chewbent	Presbyt.
19. House of James Wood, Chewbent	Presbyt.
20. House of William Burton, Cocker(h)am	Presbyt.
21. Room built by Presbyterians for a meeting-house at Capalton (?Coppall)	Presbyt.
22. House of William and Henry Berry, Upper Darwen	Presbyt.
23. House of Thomas Topping, Dean	Presbyt.
24. Barn of John Pickops, Dedminclough	Indep.
25. House of Alice Tonge, Waldenmore, Eccles	Presbyt.
26. Meeting-house erected by people of Ellwell (Ellel)	_____
27. House of John March, Elston	Presbyt.
28. Meeting-house, Elswick Lees, St. Michael's parish	Cong.
29. House of George Leigh, Farnworth	Presbyt.
30. House of Gabriell Camellford, Furness Fell	Cong.
31. House of William Rowlingson, Furness Fell	Cong.
32. House of Thomas Hide, Grasting (Garstang)	Presbyt.
33. House of Jane Taylor, Golborne	Presbyt.
34. Meeting-house at Hardshaw	Presbyt.
35. House of Thomas Gregg, Hardshaw	_____
36. House of Henry Hilton in Henley (Hindley)	Presbyt.
37. House of James Bradshaw, Hindley	Presbyt.
38. New meeting-house, Hindley	Presbyt.
39. House of Apuilla (?Aquila) Wilbore, Hoghton, Lincolnshire (Lancashire)	Presbyt.
40. House of Thomas Willebie, Horridg (Horwich)	Presbyt.
41. Meeting-house built in Goosenarsh (Goosenaragh), near the Fells in Kirkham	Presbyt.
42. House of Cuthbert Harrison, Lancaster	Presbyt.
43. House of Thomas Christian, Liverpool	Presbyt.
44. Meeting-place at Longaridge (Longridge)	Presbyt.
45. House near the College, Manchester	Presbyt.
46. House of Henry Finch, Manchester	Presbyt.
47. Private oratory of Thomas Birch, Birch Hall, Manchester	Presbyt. and Cong.
48. House of John Leeds, Manchester	Anabap.

49. Houses of Nicholas Deavnellyes and Richard Holbrooke, Manchester	Presbyt.
50. House of Richard Holland, Manchester	Presbyt.
51. House of Caleb Broadhead, Manchester	Presbyt.
52. House of Mr. Buxton, Manchester	Presbyt.
53. House of John Thornton, Mellon (Mellor)	Presbyt.
54. Meeting-house built on Cockey-Moor, Middleton	Presbyt.
55. House of Arthur Bromley, Middleton	Presbyt.
56. Houses of Ralph Smith and James Hardman, Middleton	Presbyt.
57. House of Lady Stanley of Bickerstaffe, Ormschurch (Ormskirk)	Presbyt.
58. Meeting-house built by Presbyterians, Ormschurch (Ormskirk)	Presbyt.
59. House of Mary Lyon, Prescot	Presbyt.
60. House of Peter Seddon, Prestwich	Presbyt.
61. New-built meeting-house, Rainford	Presbyt.
62. Oratory of John Bradshaw, Rivington	Presbyt.
63. Meeting-place at Rivington	Presbyt.
64. House of Matthew Hallemes, Rochdale	Cong.
65. House of Thomas Anderton, Sam(le)sbury	Presbyt.
66. New-built meeting-house, Sankey	Presbyt.
67. House of James Hampson, Sherples (Sharples)	Cong.
68. House of Roger Baldwin, Standish	Presbyt.
69. Meeting-house at Tockholes	Cong.
70. House of John Charleton, Holcom(b)e, (Tottington)	Presbyt.
71. House of James Charleton, Holcom(b)e, (Tottington)	Presbyt.
72. The Courthouse, Holcom(b)e, Tot(t)ington	Presbyt.
73. House of John Grime, Tottington	Presbyt.
74. House of William Kershaw, Turton	Cong.
75. The Courthouse, Warrington	Presbyt.
76. House of Robert Yates, Warrington	Presbyt.
77. House of Rebecca Neild, Warrington (Warrington)	Presbyt.
78. House of Samuel Leech, Warrington	Presbyt.
79. House of Samuel Nicholls, Warrington	Presbyt.
80. House of Henry Ogle, Whitson (Whiston)	Presbyt.
81. House of John Greene, Wigan	Presbyt.
82. House of Ambrose Jolly, Wigan	Presbyt.
83. House of Margaret Ford, Wigan	Presbyt.
84. House of Henry Topping, Wigan	Presbyt.
85. House of John Harris, Withnell	Presbyt.
86. House of John Durden, Yate Bank	Presbyt.

LEICESTERSHIRE

1. House of William Hood, Ashby-de-la-Zouch	Presbyt.
2. House of John Gardner, Barl(e)ston(e)	Presbyt.
3. House of Widow Harrison, Beechwell (Bitteswell)	Presbyt.
4. House of John Fox (or Foxson), Playbe (Blaybe)	Presbyt. and Cong.
5. House of John Heath, Great Bowden	Cong.
6. House of George Carter, Cadeby	Presbyt.
7. House of Edmond Clark, Church Langton	Presbyt.
8. House of William Stratton, Nether Cleabrook (Claybrook)	Presbyt.
9. House of John Darby, Dravton	Presbyt.
10. House of William More, Enderby	Presbyt.
11. House of George Borfert, Fleckney	Cong.
12. House of Thomas Steedman, Glenfield	Presbyt.
13. House of Thomas Dudley, Hacklestat	Cong.
14. House of William Hartshorne, Harborough	Cong.
15. House of Robert Basse, Market Harborough	Presbyt.
16. House of Thomas More, Market Harborough	Presbyt.
17. House of Nathaniel Stephens, jun., Higham	Presbyt.

18. House of Samuel Ward, Hinckley	Presbyt.
19. House of George Johnson, Horninghold	Presbyt.
20. House of Roger Buswell, Husbands Bosworth	Indep.
21. House of Thomas Bagett, Ibstock	Presbyt.
22. Houses of Elias Godely and Richard Batts, Ibstock	Presbyt.
23. Houses of Joseph Taylor and John Husband, Ibstock	Presbyt.
24. House of Luke Cranwell, Regworth (Kegworth)	Presbyt.
25. House of Richard Coleman, Leicester	Baptist.
26. House of John Winterton, Littleworth (?) Lutterworth)	Presbyt.
27. House of Richard Ireland, Loughborough	Presbyt.
28. House of Henry Harshorne, Lubenham	Presbyt.
29. Houses of Thomas Pratt, Mesterton (Misterton), and Cottesbach	Presbyt.
30. House of Joseph Horton, Mousley (Mowsley)	Presbyt.
31. House of William Bent, Narborough	Presbyt.
32. House of John Smally, Normanton	Presbyt.
33. House of William Rabins, Aisgsthorp (Osgathorpe)	Presbyt.
34. House of Symon Butterise, Pickwell	Presbyt.
35. House of Thomas Legg, Ratby, Lincolnshire (Leicestershire).....	Presbyt.
36. House of Nathaniel Heele, Ratcliff Culey	Presbyt.
37. House of George Hubbard, Rearsby	Presbyt.
38. House of Richard Harrison, Sapcote	Presbyt.
39. House of Clement Needham, Saxby	Presbyt.
40. House of Edmond Temple, Showell (Shawell)	Presbyt.
41. House of John Armstrong, Stapleton	Presbyt.
42. House of Abigail Do(w)el, Stokegolden	Presbyt.
43. House of Thomas Andrews, Stratton (Stretton) Parva	Presbyt.
44. Houses of Robert Cattles and James Floyd, Swinford	Presbyt.
45. House of John Cave, Theddingworth	Indep.
46. House of Elizabeth Brotherhood, Thornton	Presbyt.
47. House of Michael Hudson, Ulstrop (Ullesthorp)	Presbyt.
48. House of William Chapman, Malcote (Walcote)	Presbyt.
49. House of Thomas Button, Walton	Presbyt.
50. House of William Jordan, Westerby	Cong.
51. House of Mrs. Pheasant, Westlangton	Presbyt.
52. House of John Cheeks, Little Wigs(t)on	Presbyt.
53. House of Richard Shepard, Wigs(t)on	Presbyt.
54. House of John King, Witherley	Presbyt.

LINCOLNSHIRE

1. House of William Cooper, Boston	Presbyt.
2. House of John Barker, Brent Broughton	Baptist.
3. House of Widow Brumpton, Cherry Willingham	Baptist.
4. House of Matthew Coates, Gainsborough	Presbyt.
5. House of John Ingerson, Grantham	Presbyt.
6. House of James Ashton, Grantham	Presbyt.
7. House of John Nelthorpe, Little Grimsby	Presbyt.
8. House of John Taylor, Higham	Baptist.
9. House of Nicholas Cressy, Kirton	Cong.
10. House of John Wright, Lessingham	Presbyt.
11. House of Elizabeth Lylly, Lincoln	Baptist.
12. House of John Anderton, Lincoln	Baptist.
13. House of John Disney, Lincoln	Presbyt.
14. House of John Ward, Moreland (Moorland)	Baptist.
15. House of Evers Army, Osgodby	Presbyt.
16. House of John Clerke, Scirbeck (Skirbeck)	Presbyt.
17. House of Robert Cramlington, Somercoate	Cong.
18. House of Andrew Browne, Spalding	Presbyt.
19. Houses of Robert Curtis and James Garney, Spalding	Presbyt.
20. House of Silvester Emlins, Stamford	Presbyt.

21. House of William Collington, Stamford	Anabap.
22. House of Widow Cooke, Stamford	Presbyt.
23. House of William Rollington, Stragglethorpe	Baptist.
24. House of Widow Perk, Thirleby (Thurlby)	Baptist.

LONDON

1. House of Jeremiah Malpas, Basinghall Street	Presbyt.
2. Houses of William Denn and John Hubberts, Broad Street	Presbyt.
3. House of William Lisle, Cripplegate	Presbyt.
4. House of Mary Wood, Cherry Tree Alley, St. Giles, Cripplegate	Presbyt.
5. House of Richard Joyce, Dowgate	Cong.
6. House of John Perry, Filpot Lane	Presbyt.
7. House of Nicholas Bennet, Talbot Court, Grace-church Street	Cong.
8. House of John Hickes, Hatton Garden	Presbyt.
9. House of Grave(s) Weaver, Jerusalem Alley	Presbyt.
10. House of — Cuttler, near Lime Street	Presbyt.
11. House of John Case, Great Queen Street, St. Giles-in-the-Fields	Presbyt.
12. House of William Jenkins, St. John's Close	Presbyt.
13. House of John Edwards, St. Mary Abchurch	Presbyt.
14. House of William Ball, parish of St. Mary Somerset	Presbyt.
15. House of George Ewer, Southwark	Presbyt.
16. House of James Walker, St. Olave's, Southwark	Cong.
17. House of Humphrey Aldersey (Addersley), St. Olave's Southwark	Presbyt.
18. House of Thomas Soper, Westminster	Presbyt.
19. House of Gabriel Sangar, Westminster	Presbyt.
20. New-built meeting-house of Thomas Cawton, the New Way, Westminster	(Presbyt.)
21. House of John Rowlines, Whitechapel	Presbyt.
22. House of John Dixson, Whitefriars	Presbyt.
23. House of John Dickings, Whitefriars	Presbyt.
24. House of Richard Hill, Winchester Street	Cong.

MIDDLESEX

1. House of John Jackson, Old Brentford	Presbyt.
2. House of Thomas Swift, Old Branford (Brentford)	Presbyt.
3. House of William Probee, Chiswick	Presbyt.
4. House of Robert Wilding, Hackney	Presbyt.
5. House of Henry Ashurst, Clapton, Hackney	Presbyt.
6. House of George Hocknell, Hackney	Presbyt.
7. Samuel Everard's house at Chirlds Hill (Child's Hill) in Hamsfield (Hampstead) parish	Cong.
8. House of Dr. Lazarus Seaman, Hammersmith	Presbyt.
9. House of William Vincent, Hounslow	Presbyt.
10. House of George Thwing and — Barker, Islington	Presbyt.
11. House of David King, Kingsland	Presbyt.
12. Houses of Richard Stanborough, John Finch, John Winchester, and William Egling, Pinner, near Harrow	Cong.
13. House of John Doddendge (Doddridge), Twickenham	Presbyt.
14. House of John Finch, Wil(l)e)sden	Presbyt.
15. House of Lady Roberts, Willesden	Indep.

MONMOUTHSHIRE

1. House of Llewellyn Rossar, Aberystruth	Indep.
2. House of Rignald (? Reginald) Morgaine, Bettws	Indep.
3. House of John Harris, the Bell Inn, Caerwent	Indep.

4. House of James Lewis, Caldicot parish	Presbyt.
5. House of Margaret Jones, Henlis (Henllys)	Indep.
6. House of John Watkins, Llanwenarath	Indep.
7. House of Jane Rignalds, Marshfield	Indep.
8. House of Joan Jones, parish of Christ Church, Monmouth..	Indep.
9. House of Joshua Lloyd, itinerant	Indep.
10. Houses of Thomas James and Evan Williams, Mynthstlayne (Mynyddslwyn)	Indep.
11. House of Barbara Williams, Newport	Indep.
12. House of William Howell, parish of Undy	Indep.

NORFOLK

1. House of John Fuller, Alborough	Cong.
2. House of Henry Milton, Alborough	Cong.
3. House of John Fawles, Banwell (? Banham)	Presbyt.
4. House of William Reynolds, Bodham (Bodham)	_____
5. House of Thomas Stone, Cawston	Presbyt.
6. House of John Walker, East Dearham (Dereham)	Cong.
7. House of Mary Blomfield and Robert Bartsham, Diss	Cong.
8. House of Jeremiah Brian, Diss	Presbyt.
9. House of George Kooke, Foxley	Cong.
10. House of Edward Wix, Guestwick	Cong.
11. House of Francis Games, Holt	Presbyt.
12. House of Catherine Oubitt (Cubitt), Ingham	Cong.
13. House of John Foyster, Kenninghall	Presbyt.
14. House of Anne Withers, King's Lynn	Presbyt.
15. House of John Allen, Lammas	Cong.
16. House of Charles Peast, Lynn	Cong.
17. House of John Ringstead, Lynn	Cong.
18. House of Thomas Worts	Cong.
19. Houses of Thomas Bell and Thomas Johnson, North Repps..	Presbyt.
20. House of John Morley, parish of St. Martin's of the Oak, Norwich	Presbyt.
21. House of John Dearly, St. Andrew's, Norwich	Presbyt.
22. House of William Tu(c)k, St. Clement's, Norwich	Baptist.
23. House of William Bell, Oldton (Oulton)	Cong.
24. House of Thomas Brightwin, Pulham Mary	Presbyt.
25. Room or Rooms in the house of Temperance Hill, widow, at Rus(h)all	Cong.
26. House of Thomas Priest, Southrepps	Presybt.
27. House of Robert Kipping, Tharston	Presbyt.
28. House of Henry Withers, Trunch	Indep.
29. House of John Google, Trunch	Indep.
30. House of Robert Flight, Trunch	Cong.
31. House of Anthony Steaward (or Steward), Tunstead	Cong.
32. House of Edward Bell, Tunstead	Cong.
33. House of Robert Stephens, Walsoken	Cong.
34. Houses of Richard Kempe, John Briting, and John Edwards, Wymondham	Indep.
35. House of John Browne, Wymondham	Presbyt.
36. House of Timothy Pye, Great Yarmouth	Baptist.

NORTHAMPTONSHIRE

1. House of Samuel Whitbye, Great Addington	Presbyt.
2. House of William Butler, Ashley	_____
3. House of James Taylor, Little Bowden	_____
4. House of Edward Brookes, Brigstock	Cong.
5. House of Thomas Harrison, Castle Garth	Presbyt.

6. House of John Hawtyn, Daventry	Cong.
7. House of James Cave, Daventry	Presbyt.
8. House of Allen Linzey, Daventry	Presbyt.
9. House of Walter Slye, (Do(g)s)tho(r)pe	Presbyt.
10. House of William Holt, Eye	Anabap.
11. House of Baxter Slyes, Eyebury	l'resbyt.
12. Houses of Ralph Pune and Rebecca Mulsoe, Green's Norton	Presbyt.
13. House of John Maydwell, Kettering	Presbyt.
14. House of Thomas Broome, Kingscliffe	Cong.
15. House of Matthew Clerke, Lythe (Little) Bowden	Presbyt.
15a. House of William Garrett, Meares Ashby	Cong.
16. House of John Oliver, Nassington	Presbyt.
17. House of John Mansell, Newton	Cong.
18. House of Robert Maunsell, Newton	Presbyt.
19. House of Robert Masley (or Marsey) Northampton.....	Cong.
20. House of Alexander Blake, St. Martin's, Northampton	Presbyt.
21. House of John Clark, Northampton	Presbyt.
22. House of Valentine Chaddock, Northampton	Presbyt.
22a. House of Samuel Wolford, Northampton	Presbyt.
23. House of Thomas Fownes, Oundle	Presbyt.
24. House of Mary Breton, Oundle	Presbyt.
25. Houses of William Shippes, Baranby Knowles, and John Bladwick, Peterborough	Presbyt.
26. House of Isaac Spence, Peterborough	Anabap.
27. House of Mr. Woleston, Rusden	Cong.
28. House of Samuel Sturgess, Sibbertoffe (Sibbertoft).....	Presbyt.
29. House of Thomas Heycock, Sulgrave	Presbyt.
30. House of Charles Gore, Towcaster	Cong.
31. House of Henry Steele, Welford	Presbyt.
32. House of Richard Adkins, Wellingborough	Cong.
33. House of Thomas Aldwinckle, Wilbarston	Cong.
34. House of John Neale, Yar(d)ley	Cong.

NORTHUMBERLAND

1. House of Sir William Middleton, Pelsam (Belsay)	Presbyt.
2. House of Henry Shell in Berwick	Presbyt.
3. House of Luke Ogle, Bowlorne (? Bowsden)	Presbyt.
4. House of John Duffenby, Dalton	Presbyt.
5. House of John Thompson, Morpeth	Presbyt.
6. House of Benjamin Ellisson, Newcastle-on-Tyne	Presbyt.
7. House of Anthony Feathames, Newcastle-on-Tyne	Presbyt.
8. House of George Bendall, Newcastle-on-Tyne	Cong.
9. House of Richard Galpine, Newcastle-on-Tyne	Cong.
10. House of John Ogle, Kirkley, Pondiland (Ponteland)	Cong.
11. House of Richard Gilpin, Scarby Castle	Presbyt.
12. House of George Capel, Tynemouth	Presbyt.

NOTTINGHAMSHIRE

1. House of John Constable, Beeston	Presbyt.
2. House of Robert Lambert, St. James' House, Blith (Blyth)..	Presbyt.
3. House of John Trueman, Burton	Cong.
4. House of George Flower, Carburton	Presbyt.
5. House of William Heugs (Hughes), Clipston Ironwood ..	Presbyt.
6. House of William Hart, Collingham	Baptist
7. House of Matthew Shephardson, North Collingham	Indep.
8. House of John Hanford, Eastwood	Presbyt.
9. House of Elizabeth Habbman, Flinetham	Cong.
10. House of Humphrey Jameson, Gr(i)esley .....	.....

11. Houses of Robert Porter and John Billingsley, Mansfield...Presbyt.
12. House of Ann Deanes, Mardman (?) Markham)Cong.
13. House of Robert Colvert, Maskham (Muskhamb)Baptist.
14. House of John Leighton, NewthorpPresbyt.
15. House of Robert Wheatley, NewthorpePresbyt.
16. House of George Lane, NewthorpPresbyt.
17. House of Thomas Gretton, NottinghamCong.
18. House of William Russell, Searle (Scarle)Baptist.
19. House of Elizabeth Lindsey, SkegbyCong.
20. House of Elizabeth Woodward, ThrumptonPresbyt.
21. House of Thomas Burrows, WatnallPresbyt.
22. House of William Pickard, WoodburghIndep.

OXFORDSHIRE

1. House of Josiah Cox, AdderburyPresbyt.
2. House of Josiah Difion, Chipping NortonCong.
3. House of Philip Appletree, Ded(d)ingtonPresbyt.
4. House of Lawrence Overy, DorchesterCong.
5. House of Thomas Crasse, FinstockBaptist.
6. House of William Cornish, Henley, Bucks (Oxfordshire) ...Presbyt.
7. House of George Gooding, LatchfordPresbyt.
8. House of John Button, Launden, Bucks (?) Launton, (Oxfordshire)Cong.
9. House of Jane Tuckwell, LongworthBaptist.
10. House of Samuel Cox, MiltonPresbyt.
11. House of Isaac Williams, MinsterworthPresbyt.
12. House of Thomas Colle, NettlebedPresbyt.
13. House of Michael Mercer, Magdalen parish, OxfordCong.
14. House of Ann Perk (or Beeks), Ratcot, Berks (Radcot, Oxfordshire)Cong.
15. House of Major Dunch, San(d)fordPresbyt.
16. House of William Bray, ShiplakeCong.
17. House of Edward Howes, ThameCong.
18. House of Charles Winge, Witney, Essex (Oxfordshire)Presbyt.
19. House of Widow Collier, Witnix (Witney)Baptist.
20. House of James Beckford, WolvercotBaptist.
21. House of Edward Miles, WoodstockPresbyt.
22. House of William Metcalf, WoodstockPresbyt.
23. House of John Higgins, WortonCong.

RUTLANDSHIRE

1. House of Peter Woodcock, Courott (Caldicot) ?Presbyt.
2. House of Simon Andrews, Edgton (?) Exton)Presbyt.
3. House of Evers Armyn, KentonPresbyt.
4. House of Simon Andrews, Kilthorpe (Kelthorpe)Presbyt.
5. House of Samuel Hunt, North LuffenhamPresbyt.
6. House of Margaret Wilks, Dekham (?) Oakham)Cong.
7. House of Andrew Broughton, SeatonPresbyt.
8. House of Edward Horsman, StrettonCong.

SHROPSHIRE

1. House of William Winkell, Albrington (Albrighton)_____
2. House of Stephen Evans, Bettws (Bettws)Presbyt.
3. House of Rowland Nevet, BolasPresbyt.
4. House of John Littleford, Bovinghall_____
5. House of Elizabeth Owen, BragingtonPresbyt.
6. House of George Hille, Bridgnorth_____
7. House of John Cox, DraytonPresbyt.

8. House of Ann Hatsold, Drexhill	Presbyt
9. House of Frances Wolps, Ellesmere	Ceng
10. House of John Dickin, El(l)e)smere	Indep.
11. House of John Griffin and Richard Jenks, High Arcall (Ercall)	Presbyt.
12. House of Thomas Millington, Hodnet	Presbyt.
13. House of Thomas Walker, Hopton	Presbyt.
14. House of Margery Botfield, Old Street ward, Ludlow parish.	Presbyt.
15. The old courthouse at the Ball Ring, Ludlow	Presbyt.
16. House of Jane Littleton of the More	Presbyt.
17. House of Katherine Ashenhurst, Newport	Presbyt.
18. House of Hugh Edwards, Oswestry	Cong.
19. A large room over the market at Oswestry	Cong.
20. House of Elizabeth Griffith, Oswestry	Presbyt.
21. House of Dorothy Gough, the Nant, near Oswestry	Presbyt.
22. House of Elizabeth Skrimpshire, Presbury	Presbyt.
23. House of Elizabeth Hunt, Salop	Presbyt.
24. House of Michael Old, Sheriff Hales	Presbyt.
25. House of John Bryon, Shersbury (Shrewsbury)	Presbyt.
26. Houses of Richard Bagott and Edward Grinsell, town of Salop (Shrewsbury)	Presbyt.
27. Houses of John Hand and Edward Bury, Stoke-on-Tearne	Presbyt.
28. House of Jeremiah Hibbins, Stoke	Presbyt.
29. House of Widow Zanchey, Stretton	Cong.
30. House of John Sherret, Wem	Presbyt.
31. House of Elizabeth Richardson, Wem	Presbyt.
32. House of Edward King, Much Wenlock	Cong.
33. House of Lazarus Thomas, Westfelton	Cong.
34. House of John Smith, Whitchurch	Presbyt.

SOMERSETSHIRE

1. Houses of James White, Abbotscombe and Templecombe	... Presbyt.
2. House of Elizabeth Morrice, Abbiscombe	Presbyt.
3. Houses of Alexander Prole and Nicholas Blake, Alcomb	... Presbyt.
4. House of Robert Carter, Ashill	Presbyt.
5. House of John Galpin, Ashpriors	Presbyt.
6. House of Robert Sanger, Beckington	Presbyt.
7. Houses of Roger Illear and Robert Balch, Bridgwater	Presbyt.
8. House of David Bayly, Bridgwater	Presbyt.
9. House of Joseph Jenkins, Bro(o)mfield	Presbyt.
10. Barn of John Walter, Brewton (Bruton)	Cong.
11. House of John Warter, Bruton	Cong.
12. Houses of John Saunders and William Wilton Bruton	Cong. or Presbyt.
13. House of Hugh Chaine or Chaffie, Bruton	Cong.
14. House of John Carye, Bruton	Cong.
15. House of Robert Pinney, Chard	Presbyt.
16. House of Robert Batt, Chard	Presbyt.
17. House of John Perry, Chenstock	Presbyt.
18. House of John Laver, Coat	Presbyt.
19. House of Edward Slade, Combe Abbey	Presbyt.
20. House of John Serry, Crewkerne	Presbyt.
21. House of William Clares, Crewkerne	Presbyt.
22. House of John Baker, Curry Mallett	Presbyt.
23. House of Robert Goffe, Curry Rivell	Presbyt.
24. Barn of William Rogers, Doughting (Doulting) parish.	Presbyt.
25. Barn of John James, Doulting	Presbyt.
26. House of Richard Llocombe, Dulverton	Presbyt.
27. House of Nathaniel Barnard, Fivehead	Presbyt.
28. House of John Curle, Freshford	Presbyt.

29. House of John Sheppard, Frome	Presbyt.
30. House of George Cary, parish of Bennerdicke (St. Benedict's, Glastonbury)	Presbyt.
31. House of Joseph Holmes, Broadlanes End, Ilminster	Presbyt.
32. House of Mary Moore, Ivelchester (Ilchester)	Presbyt.
33. House of William Weeks, Kilmersdon	Presbyt.
34. Houses of Elisha Humphreys, John Humphreys, and John Stuckey, Kingsbury	Presbyt.
35. Houses of Richard Seward and Richard Bennet, Langport	Presbyt.
36. House of John Dummed, Masson (?) Marston)	Presbyt.
37. House of George Bissex, Martock	Presbyt.
38. House of Edward Cole(s), Merriott	Presbyt.
39. House of John Smith, Midleroy (Middlezoy)	Presbyt.
40. House of Thomas Petter, Minehead	Presbyt.
41. House of Richard Woolcoots, Monk Silver	Presbyt.
42. House of William Hooper, Montague (Montacute)	Presbyt.
43. House of Joan Bult, Hide, West Munton parish	Presbyt.
44. Houses of (William) Rodbeard and John Pitt, Norton	Presbyt.
45. House of Joan Baker, parish of Oake	Presbyt.
46. House of Thomas Warren, Otterford	Presbyt.
47. House of George Portnell, North Petherton	Presbyt.
48. House of Thomas Bray, North Petherton	Presbyt.
49. House of Stephen Lyte, South Petherton	Presbyt.
50. House of Humphrey Phillips, Priston	Presbyt.
51. House of Charles Sanders, Priston	Presbyt.
52. House of William Doble, St. Mary Stoke	Presbyt.
53. House of William Browne, Shepton Mallet	Presbyt.
54. House of Richard James, jun., Shepton Mallet	Presbyt.
55. House of Allen Morgridge, Somerton	Presbyt.
56. House of Nicholas Gindry, Southarp	Presbyt.
57. House of Thomas Moore, Spargrove	Presbyt.
58. House of George Fry, Staplegrove	Presbyt.
59. House of John Burnald, Stockland	Presbyt.
60. House of Robert Burnall, Stockland parish	Presbyt.
61. House of Jane Ingram, Stoke Commer (Stogumber)	Presbyt.
62. House of John Chaffey, Stock (Stoke)	Indep.
63. House of Matthew Calpin, Stoke Trister	Presbyt.
64. House of William Gill, Taunton	Indep.
65. House of John Hucklebridge, Taunton St. James	Presbyt.
66. House of Thomas Prossester and John Hucker, Taunton	Presbyt.
67. House of Samuel Perry, Thornfalcon	Presbyt.
68. House of Edward Ceely, Thurloxton	Presbyt.
69. House of Francis Stickland, Trull parish	Presbyt.
70. House of Richard Hayward, Weeke	Presbyt.
71. House of William Andrewes, Wells	Presbyt.
72. House of Samuel Reed, St. John's Street, Wells	Presbyt.
73. House of William Spencer, Westbury	Presbyt.
75. House of Alice Hawker, Whitehill	Presbyt.
76. House of Dorcas Standerwick, White Lackington	Presbyt.
77. House of William Jerard (or Gerard) Wincanton (Wincanton)	Presbyt.
78. House of Robert Baker, Winsham	Presbyt.
79. House of Joseph Stacker, Wiveliscombe	Presbyt.
80. House of Jeffery Hickes, Woodford, Wells parish	Presbyt.
81. House of David Claydon, Yeavill (Yeovil)	Cong.

STAFFORDSHIRE

1. House of Elizabeth Latham, Betley	Presbyt.
2. The Malthouse of Sir Samuel Taylor, Boyshall	Presbyt.
3. House of William Tamlenson, Burton-on-Trent	Baptist.

4. House of Edward Wilson, Cannock Presbyt.
 5. House of Thomas Browne, Copley Cong.
 6. Houses of Thomas Strimshawe and Margaret
 Perkins, Eagleshall (Eccleshall) Presbyt.
 7. House of Thomas Smeedon, Fa(u)ld Cong.
 8. Houses of William Osborne and William Heeley,
 Han(ds)worth Presbyt.
 9. House of Roger Hickmane, Ingodsell Cong.
 10. House of widow Molt, King's Bromley —
 11. Houses of John Lee, William Parks, and Edward
 Paston, Kingswinford Presbyt.
 12. House of Thomas Nabes, Leek Presbyt.
 13. Houses of Wry Jesson and Thomas Minor, Lichfield Presbyt.
 14. House of Alice Nickins, Lichfield Presbyt.
 15. House of Job Hathersick, Lichfield —
 16. House of John Barker, Lichfield Presbyt.
 17. Houses of Christian Hood and Edward Brughton,
 Longdon Presbyt.
 18. House of George Pibus, Morton (Moortton or Moreton) Cong.
 19. House of William Beard, Newcastle Presbyt.
 20. House of Susanna Sond, Newcastle Presbyt.
 21. House of John Hayes, Northall parish Presbyt.
 22. House of Roger Gukman, Oaken Presbyt.
 23. House of Richard Mase, Okams (?) Oaken) Cong.
 24. House of Ithell Bates, Orton Cong.
 25. House of John Hills, Over Markfield Presbyt.
 26. House of Edward Hand, Patsell (Patshull) Cong.
 27. House of George Colborne, Rowley Regis Presbyt.
 28. House of John Turton, Rowley Presbyt (?)
 29. House of William Russell, Rowley Regis —
 30. House of Jane Mackin, Scabridge Presbyt.
 31. House of Joeph Smith, Sedgley Presbyt.
 32. Houses of Widow Frances Sound and Elliner
 Moot, Stafford Presbyt.
 33. House of Jane Machin, Stoke Presbyt.
 34. House of John Oakes, Thornilane Cong.
 35. House of Ellinor Hopkins, Wedenbury (Wednesbury) Cong.
 36. Houses of John Smith and Joshua Granger,
 Wedenbury (Wednesbury) —
 37. House of Richard Fisher, Westbornewich Presbyt.
 38. House of Samuel Hollow, Weston-on-Trent, Derby-
 shire (Staffordshire) Presbyt.
 39. Houses of John Russell, Edmund Sheldon,
 Barbary Hincks and Thomas Archer, Wolverhampton ...Presbyt.

SUFFOLK

1. House of Henry Browne, Alborough (Aldeburgh) Presbyt.
 2. House of Thomas Buck, Ashfield Independ.
 3. House of John Gurdon, called Assington Hall Presbyt.
 4. House of Robert Hall, East Bergholt Presbyt.
 5. House of Samuel Harvey, Brockford —
 6. Houses of Thomas Walcott and John Allen,
 Bungay Cong. and Anabap.
 7. House of Henry Lacy, Bungay Baptist
 8. House of Samuel Moodie, Bury St. Edmund's —
 9. House of Giles Barnardiston, Clare, Sussex (Suffolk) Presbyt.
 10. Houses of John Bridgman and Richard Cutts, Clare Presbyt.
 11. House of William Bareham, Clare Presbyt.
 12. House of John Collier, Couling (Cowlinge) Presbyt.
 13. House of Mrs. Dinnington, Dunwick Cong.

14. House of Joseph Blissett, Eye	Indep.
15. House of John Fenn, Fram(l)ingham	Indep.
16. House of Charles Churchyard, Fram(l)ingham	Indep.
17. House of Stephen Gaule, Gishingham	Cong.
18. House of Robert Hemson, Haughtley	Presbyt.
19. House of James Elsigood, Hopton	Cong.
20. House of William Lovett, Hundon	Presbyt.
21. House of Thomas Sheeres, Kelshall	Presbyt.
22. House of Richard Sendall, Kessingland	Indep.
23. House of Richard Rousse, Knodishall	Presbyt (Cong.)
24. House of William Rising, Lowestoft	Indep.
25. House of William Spring, Nayland	Presbyt.
26. House of Richard Cooper, Nedgin(g)	Presbyt.
27. House of Elizabeth Rust, Ricingdale (Rickinghall)	Cong.
28. House of Edmund Bellamy, Sibton	Cong.
29. House of Joseph Ireland, Southwold	Presbyt.
30. House of Richard Whincop, Spexhall	Cong.
31. House of Thomas Baker, Spex(h)all	Presbyt.
32. House of Samuel Gibbs, Stoke Nayland	(Presbyt.)
33. House of Jonathan Peake, Stowmarket	
34. House of John Medowse, Stowmarket	Presbyt.
35. House of Robert Sewell, Sudbury	Cong.
36. House of John Man. Shafling (Sweffling)	Presbyt. and (Cong.)
37. House of Samuel Baker, Watisfield	Cong.
38. House of Richard Brabon, Waybread	Cong.
39. House of John Primrose, Wetheringsett	

SURREY

1. House of Widow Lisle, Bagshot Park	Presbyt.
2. House of John Butterey, Ble(t)ingley	Presbyt.
3. House of James Towers, Cobham	Presbyt.
4. House of John Worrell, Croydon	Presbyt.
5. House of Michael Jeale, Sandplace, Dorking	Presbyt.
6. House of William Bicknoll (or Buknald), Farnham	Presbyt.
7. Houses of Richard Bures and Noah Webb, Frimley	Presbyt.
8. House of George Bridges, Godalming	Presbyt.
9. House of James Bradford, Guildford	Presbyt.
10. House of John Woodyard, parish of St. Nicholas, Guildford.	Presbyt.
11. House of Richard Margesse (Margesson), Stone Street in Vicklye (Ockley)	Presbyt.
12. House of Thomas Stone, Oxstead	Presbyt.
13. House of John Daberion, Walton-on-Thames	Presbyt.

SUSSEX

1. House of Henry Wolgar, Arundel	Presbyt.
2. House of Peter Draper, Billingshurst	Presbyt.
3. House of Edward Cole, Birdham	Presbyt.
4. House of Edward Lulham, Ditchling	Presbyt.
5. House of Richard Marchant, Dukeling (Ditchling)	Presbyt.
6. House of Richard Key, Eastde(a)n	Presbyt.
7. House of Elizabeth Bridger, Funtington	Presbyt.
8. House of Thomas Smith, Funtington	Presbyt.
9. House of Robert Goodwin, East Greasthead (Grinstead)	Presbyt.
10. House of John Elliott, Hartfield	Presbyt.
11. House of Samuel Burton, Hallingly (Hellingly)	Presbyt.
12. House of Henry Franckner (Falconer), Hordlie	Presbyt.
13. House of William Peckham, Little Horsted	Presbyt.
14. House of Robert Kenward, Isfield	Cong.
15. House of Richard Launder, Lurgashall	Presbyt.

16. House of John Hall and Robert Walter, Pagham Presbyt.
17. House of Geoffrey Dautrie, Petworth, Essex (Sussex) Presbyt.
18. House of Henry Phillips, Petworth Presbyt.
19. House of Richard Turner, Plumpton, Essex (Sussex) Presbyt.
20. House of John Jeffrey, New Shoreham Presbyt.
21. House of Cornelius Streeland (Freeland), Sidlesham Presbyt.
22. House of Thomas Hallet, Street Presbyt.
23. House of George Eds, Thackham (Thakeham) Cong.
24. House of Joseph Lee, Thackham (Thakeham) Presbyt.
25. House of Nicholas Winton, Walderne Presbyt.
26. House of John Willis and Peter Legay, Westgate,
Chichester Cong.
27. House of Stephen Ridge, Westminston (Westmeston) Presbyt.
28. House of John Browne, Westminton (Westmeston) Presbyt.
29. House of William Squire, East Withering Presbyt.

WARWICKSHIRE

1. Houses of Samuel Salisbury, William Yardley, and
William Drayton, Atherstone Presbyt.
2. House of John Stafford, Atherstone Presbyt.
3. House of John Kendall, Au(s)tr(e)y Presbyt.
4. Houses of Richard Yarnald, Samuel Doely, and Samuel
Taylor, Birmingham Presbyt.
5. House of John Jesson, Birmingham Presbyt.
6. House of Thomas Bridgens, Birmingham Presbyt.
7. House of John Hall, Bromingham (Birmingham) Presbyt.
8. House of John Bayly, Coleshill Presbyt.
9. House of Richard Loseby, Cops(t)on Magna Presbyt.
10. House of Oliver Bransell, Great Coughton Presbyt.
11. House of Hannah Hornes at Anst(e)y, Coventry Presbyt.
12. House of William Hixe, Anstey, Coventry Presbyt.
13. Houses of Richard Cranwell and John Crichlowe, Coventry...Cong.
14. House of John Harthill, Fillongby (Fillingley) Presbyt.
15. House of Sarah Grascombe, Hartshill Presbyt.
16. Houses of William Smyth and William Right, Kenilworth...Presbyt.
17. House of Waldice Willington, Kingsbury Presbyt.
18. House of John Raynor, Merival (Merevale) Presbyt.
19. House of Abraham Worth, King's Newnham (Newnham
Regis) Presbyt.
20. House of Abraham Harper, Rugby Presbyt.
21. House of John Perkins, Shilton Anabap.
22. Houses of Robert Marsh and Jonathan Wye, Southam Presbyt.
23. Houses of Thomas Darlish and Thomas Barby,
Stonleigh parish, Somerset (? Warwickshire) Presbyt.
24. House of Samuel Stephenson, Sutton Coldfield Presbyt.
25. House of Robert Adams, Tanworth Presbyt.
26. Houses of Thomas Smith, Stephen Nicholls, Thomas
Hard and Richard Ange, Warwick Presbyt.
27. House of Sophia, Viscountess Wimbledon, Nether Whitacre...Cong.
28. House of William Paget, Witherbrooke (Withybrook) Presbyt.
29. House of Dudley Rider, Wolney Presbyt.

WESTMORELAND

1. Houses of John Hinde and Edward Bridges, Heversham ... Presbyt.
2. House of William Syl, Kendal Presbyt.
3. Houses of James Cork and James Atkinson, Kendal Presbyt.
4. House of William Warriner, Whinfield Presbyt.
5. House of John Gernet, Rendal (Kendal) Presbyt.

WILTSHERE

1. House of Charles Gilbert, Al(d)bourne	Presbyt.
2. House of Widow Randall, Bower Chalk	Presbyt.
3. House of John Holton, Bradford	Presbyt.
4. Barn of John Broomejohn, Bradford	Anabap.
5. House of John Lydiard, Bedford (? Bulford)	Baptist.
6. House of Edward Parker, Calden (? Calne)	Presbyt.
7. House of James Organes, Castlecombe	Presbyt.
8. House of Mary Harris, Damerham	Presbyt.
9. House of John Wells, Du(r)rington	Presbyt.
10. House of William Adlames, Cockerton, Deveril, Long- bridge	Baptist.
11. House of Stephen Bayley, Devizes	Cong.
12. House of Thomas Grove, Donhead	Presbyt.
13. House of William Penny, Downton	Presbyt.
14. House of Elizabeth Reeve, Great Du(r)nford	Presbyt.
15. House of Robert Grove, Ferme (Ferne)	Presbyt.
16. House of Henry Shipperd, Figheldean	Presbyt.
17. House of John Reade, Idmiston	Anabap.
18. House of Richard Wort, Edmoston (Idmiston)	Presbyt.
19. House of Ann Smith, Malmesbury	Baptist.
20. House of Nathaniel Bayly, Marlborough	Anabap.
21. House of Dorothy Harris, Martyn (Martin)	Presbyt.
22. House of Richard Hearne, Nethersoon	Presbyt.
23. House of David Shouring, Nettleton	Presbyt.
24. House of Elizabeth Clerke, Nunton	Presbyt.
25. House of Thomas Freeman, Ramsbury	Presbyt.
26. House of Henry Dent, Ramsbury	Presbyt.
27. House of John Hulatt, Salisbury	Presbyt.
28. House of John Haddissey, Sarum	Presbyt.
29. House of John Tombes, New Sarum	Presbyt.
30. House of William Palmer, Sherstone	Presbyt.
31. House of Salathiel Deane, Sutton Mandeville	Presbyt.
32. House of Thomas Tilton, Trowbridge	Presbyt.
33. House of Andrew Biffen, Uphaven (Upavon)	Presbyt.
34. Barn of Thomas Edwards, Wes(t)bury	Presbyt.
35. House of Ann Smith, Westport	Baptist.

WORCESTERSHIRE

1. House of Francis Trebell, Barlington (? Birlingham)	Cong.
2. House of Widow Westwood, Bromsgrove	Cong.
3. House of Nicholas Blick, Bromsgrove	Cong. and Presbyt.
4. House of Edward Robins, Crapthorn (Cropthorn)	—
5. House of Margery Milward, Dudley	—
6. House of William Green, Eas(th)am	Presbyt.
7. House of Widow Smirt, Evesham	Cong.
8. House of — Horton, Oldbury, Hales Owen, Shropshire (Worcester)	Presbyt.
9. House of Thomas Ingold (or Ingle), Honeybourne	Presbyt.
10. House of Thomas Ware, Kidderminster	Presbyt.
11. House of Richard Moore, King's Norton, and a meeting- house adjoining	Presbyt.
12. House of John Langford, Kierwood (Kyrewood)	Anabap.
13. House of John Read, Stambridge (? Stourbridge)	Presbyt.
14. House of Edward Rosse, Su(c)kley	Presbyt.
15. House of Richard Beckes, Old Swinford	Presbyt.
16. House of Richard Moore, Withall	Presbyt.
17. House of Richard Smith, Worcester	Presbyt.
18. House of Ann Gworle, Worcester	Presbyt.

YORKSHIRE

1. House of John Hull, near Northallerton	Presbyt.
2. House of Christopher Marshall, West Ardsley	Cong.
3. House of Matthew Bloome, Attercliffe	Presbyt.
4. House of Ursula Wrightson, Aulne (Alne) parish	Presbyt.
5. House of Sir Henry Quintine, Beverley	Presbyt.
6. House of Joshua Walker, Bingley	Presbyt.
7. House of John Hird, Ekelsell (Ecclesall), Bradford	
8. House of John Balme, Bradford	Cong.
9. Houses of Samuel Stable and Thomas Ledgard, Calverley	Presbyt.
10. House of Nathaniel Bothamley, Cowthorne (Cawthorne)	Presbyt.
11. Room or rooms at Trinity House, Greasebrooke	Presbyt.
12. House of Timothy Bentley, Halifax	Presbyt.
13. House of Thomas Haigh (or Haigh), Haslehead, Penistone	Presbyt.
14. New meeting-house built by Presbyterians at Black-friarsgate, Hull	Presbyt.
15. House of Ralph Spencer, Hunsley (Hunsley)	Presbyt.
16. New-built meeting-house, Idle	Cong.
17. House of John Armitage, Kirkburton	Presbyt.
18. House of John Rogers, Lartington	Presbyt.
19. House of Christopher Richardson, Layton	Presbyt.
20. House of Samuel Ellison, Leeds	Presbyt.
21. House of Sibyl Dawson, Leeds	Cong.
22. House of Joseph Jackson, Leeds	Cong.
23. House of James Pickring, parish of St. Michael, Leeds	Presbyt.
24. The brick house in Leeds, Briggate	Presbyt.
25. House of Mrs. Lassells, Mountgrass (Mount Grace)	Presbyt.
26. House of — Hutton, Poppleton	Presbyt.
27. House of Rebecca Moorewood, Selby	Presbyt.
28. House of Huan Duffield, Sherburn	Cong.
29. New-built meeting-house of Joshua Horton, at Quarrel Hill, Sowerby	Presbyt.
30. House of Robert Morley, Tadcaster	Cong.
31. House of John Tod, Tadcaster	Presbyt.
32. The Kilnhouse, Flanshaw Lane, Wakefield	Cong.
33. House of James Dixon, Northgate, Wakefield	Presbyt.
34. House of Andrew Taylor, Michael (? Mickle) Gate, York	Indep.
35. House of Lady Watson, Saviour Gate, York	Indep.
36. House of Nathaniel Lamb, York	Presbyt.

WALES

BRECONSHIRE

1. Houses of William Watkins, Talgarth, and Kaingon (? Llanigon)	Indep.
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CARDIGANSHIRE

1. House of Widow Gwyn, Cardigan	Cong.
2. House of Philip David, Dickewede (? Dihewid)	Cong.
3. House of Evan David, Lambéder (Lampeter)	Cong.
4. House of David Thomas, L(l)andysilio	Cong.
5. House of David Ree, Llanvayer Trelygen (Llanfair-Trefhelygen)	Cong.

CARMARTHENSHIRE

1. House of John Morgan, (Llan(n)on)	Anabap.
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CARNARVONSHIRE

1. House called Bodwell House, Tuynycoied (Tynycoied)Indep.

DENBIGHSHIRE

1. House of William Winne, Christianate (Christionydd).....Cong.
 2. House of John Hughes, Glimmin (? Glyn)Cong.
 3. House of Elizabeth Elston, Kensfroid (? Tynford
 or ? Henfford)
 4. House of John Roberts, RuthinCong.
 5. House of David Thomas, WimbliglynCong.
 6. House of John Hughes, Wilxham (Wrexham)Presbyt.

FLINTSHIRE

1. House of Luke Lloyd, BrynPresbyt.
 2. Houses of James Jackson, Katherine Key and
 William Bennett, HanmerPresbyt.
 3. House of John Prichard, Penyralt, Denbigh (Flintshire).....Cong.

GLAMORGAN

1. House of Henry Griffith, BishopstonCong.
 2. House of Lewis Rees, Kellygare (Gellegaer)Cong.
 3. House of Rice Powell, called KildandyPresbyt.
 4. House of William Rowland, LlanfabonCong.
 5. Houses of Joshua Franklin and Edward Williams,
 Llangennyth (Llangennech), Carmarthen (Glarmorgan) ...Indep.
 6. House of Llewellyn Morgan, Llangwyth (Llangwydd)Anabap.
 7. House of Elizabeth Morgan, NeathPresbyt.
 8. House of Robert Gethen, NicholastonCong.
 9. House of Richard Devan, Roxilly (Roscilly)Cong.
 10. House of Widow Williams, St. BrideAnabap.
 11. House of Stephen Hughes, SwanseaCong.

MERIONETH

1. House of Ellis Davis, Bodvegny (? Bodgadvan)Cong.
 2. House of Mary Lloyd, Cymvell (? Cynfal)Cong.
 3. House of John Owen, Errowgoyed (? Erwgoed)Cong.
 4. House of David Williams, PeniarthCong.

MONTGOMERY

1. House of John Kynaston, Bryng (? Bryn-Ayre)Cong.
 2. House of Widow Morris, Newto(w)nPresbyt.
 3. House of David Rogers, WelshpoolPresbyt.

PEMBROKESHIRE

1. Houses of John Philips and Mark Gibbons, Uzmaston.....Presbyt.

RADNORSHIRE

1. Houses of Richard Mills and Thomas Price,
 Glascombe (Glascwm)Cong.
 2. House of Ann King, LlanbisterCong.
 3. House of Thomas Tonman, Llanyhangel (Llanfihangel)
 Nant MelanCong.
 4. House of Richard Griffith, Llanganl(l)oCong.
 5. House of John Weaver, New RadnorCong.

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INDEX

Acts concerning religion, 1660-1665, their effect, p. 50.
'Address and proposals, First,' p. 12.
Albemarle, D. of, p. 58.
Anabaptists, Brief confession of, p. 2 (note 5); Humble apology of, p. 16.
Anglesey, E. of, pp. 122, 137.
Angier, John, p. 31.
Annesley, Dr., p. 74.
Argor, John, p. 32.
Arlington, E. of, blamed for the indulgence, 1662, p. 37; leans towards Roman Catholicism, p. 57; takes part in negotiations with France, pp. 71-2; agrees to the Declaration of Indulgence, p. 80; dealings with Colbert, pp. 89-90; entrusted with issue of licences, p. 91; fears to meet Parliament, p. 110; advises Charles to give way, pp. 115, 118, 123.
Arundel, in the Dover Treaty secret, pp. 71-2.
'Asses complaint against Balaam,' p. 35.
Atkinson, Peter, p. 98.

Bampfield, Francis, p. 92.
Baxter, Richard, p. 54; asked to draw up terms of union, p. 138.
Bellings signs Treaty of Dover, pp. 71, 72.
Bentley, Eli, p. 8.
Bill for Ease of Protestant Dissenters, Parliament resolves to bring in a, p. 112; limits of, prescribed, pp. 125, 126; defeated by court party, p. 137.
Billingsley, John, p. 29.
Birch, Robert, p. 31.
Birkenhead, Sir John, approves Declaration, p. 108.
Bishops summoned to give advice concerning nonconformity, pp. 140-1.
Blacklie Chapel, p. 102.
Blood, Colonel, acts as intermediary between nonconformists and Secretaries of State, p. 91; demands fees for licences, pp. 95, 96; suggests general pardon, p. 100.
Bœro, p. 71.
Bowles, Edward, visits Charles at Breda, p. 6.
Bradshaigh, Sir Roger, of Haigh, Lancashire, p. 46.
Breda, Declaration of, pp. 5, 6.
Bridgeman, becomes Lord-Keeper, p. 57; first efforts on behalf of toleration, p. 59; hesitates to seal the Declaration of Indulgence, p. 79.
Bridges, Sir Thomas, summoned for rigorous proceedings against nonconformists, p. 41.
Briscoe, James, p. 98.
Bristol, op. 52, 104.
Bristol, E. of, impeaches Clarendon, p. 40; flees, p. 41.
Buckingham, D. of, character, p. 56; supports Declaration of Indulgence, p. 80; advises Charles to summon parliament, 1673, p. 106; against the withdrawal of the Declaration, p. 115; advises use of army to over-awe parliament, p. 118.
Bunyan, John, imprisoned, p. 8; released, 1672, p. 100.
Butler, Dr., employed in issuing licences, pp. 91, 92, 96.

Cabal, The, formed, p. 56; releases republicans, p. 57; Catholic section anxious to avoid meeting parliament, 1673, p. 106; shows signs of dissolution, p. 123; proposes to involve Commons in dispute with Lords.
'Cabala,' p. 36.
Calamy, Edmund, interviews Charles II at Breda, p. 6; imprisoned for preaching, p. 41; poem upon imprisonment of, p. 42.
Canterbury, pp. 57, 65.
Carew, Sir Nicholas, upon liberty of conscience, p. 111.
Carleton, Bp. of Bristol, active in persecution, pp. 103-4.
Carr, John, p. 133.
Carr, Sir Robert, supports full toleration, p. 112.
Case, Thomas, interviews Charles II at Breda, p. 6 (and note).
Charles I refuses to grant toleration, p. 1.

Charles II, character, pp. 4, 5; receives Presbyterians at Breda, p. 6; policy in matters ecclesiastical, p. 23; attempts to assert dispensing power, p. 23; releases clergy, p. 30; issues an indulgence, p. 37; orders release of Calamy, p. 41; urges parliament to reduce people to a better temper, p. 55; persistent for toleration, pp. 62, 64 (note); tries to secure recognition of dispensing power, p. 66; signs secret Treaty of Dover, p. 71; in negotiation with the Papacy, 1662, p. 71; gives money for relief of nonconformists, p. 90; pardons Quakers, p. 100; determines to maintain his Declaration, pp. 106-7; replies to petition of parliament against the Declaration, pp. 115-6; recognises his failure, p. 118; tries to involve Lords and Commons in dispute concerning privilege, pp. 120-1; asks advice of the Lords, p. 121; withdraws Declaration, p. 123; orders regular use of Catechism, p. 132; allies with High Anglican party, p. 139; summons bishops to give advice, pp. 140-1; recalls licences, p. 141. Cheney, p. 109.

Chester, Many convictions against conventiclers at, p. 52.

Clarendon, E. of, character, p. 5; address to parliament, 1661, p. 21; acquiesces in scheme for indulgence, p. 37; opposes dispensing power, p. 39; impeached by Bristol, p. 40; promotes Five-Mile Act, p. 49; flees to France, p. 55.

Clergy, Contempt of, pp. 34, 35.

Clifford, Lord, Religious views of, p. 59; the secret of the Dover Treaty, pp. 71, 72; prime mover in Declaration of Indulgence, pp. 79-80 (and note); suggests appeal to House of Lords, pp. 118, 119; plans to secure for Charles from parliament power to suspend penal statutes in matters ecclesiastical, p. 122; ousted by the Test Act, p. 128.

Cloche, James de la, p. 71.

Cobbler of Gloucester, see Wallis.

Cockerham, p. 98.

Colbert, engaged in Treaty of Dover, pp. 71, 72; fears the result of the Declaration, pp. 89-90; advises Charles to withdraw the Declaration, p. 123; rejoices at peaceful issue, p. 124.

Comprehension, Attitude of Elizabeth, James I and Charles I to, p. 1; discussed, p. 39.

Congregational Churches, Renunciation and Declaration of the, p. 16.

Conventicles, increase after Bartholomew Ejections, p. 32; judges attend one at Exeter, p. 47; growth in Scotland, p. 63; satirists' opinion of, p. 68.

Conventicles, Act against, introduced, p. 40; passed, 1664, p. 45; Clarendon upon, p. 46; Owen upon, p. 46; expires, p. 57; New, introduced, p. 62; fails again, p. 65; passed, 1670, pp. 66-7; Owen and others on new, pp. 66-7; 'Some Seasonable and Serious Queries upon the late,' p. 70.

Conventiclers, Justices refuse to convict, p. 41; Justices reproved for disturbing, pp. 41 and 65; Convictions in London against, 1664-5, p. 46; Transportation of, pp. 46-7; Devices of, to escape detection, p. 52.

Coore, Richard, p. 92.

Cornhill Chapel, p. 102.

Corporation Act, p. 21.

Corporations, Ejection of councillors from, p. 22.

Council, The, prepares letter of advice to justices, p. 137.

Coventry, p. 65.

Coventry, Sir William, on 'Prerogative,' pp. 109, 114.

Crompton, Thomas, p. 31.

Curriers' Hall, St. Alphege, p. 97.

Danby, Earl of, Charles allies with, pp. 139, 140.

Davidson, Alexander, p. 102.

Declaration granting toleration; brought forward, 1660, p. 12; brought in as a bill, p. 14.

Declaration of Indulgence, A; issued 1662, p. 37; how received, pp. 37, 38, 39.

Declaration of Indulgence, The, result of Charles II's policy, p. 76; Text of, pp. 76-78; Real author of, pp. 79, 80; Cause of issue, pp. 80-82; Value of, pp. 82-84; Episcopal clergy denounce, p. 85; Wilde on, pp. 86, 87; Non-conformists accused of abusing, pp. 102, 103; Parliament and, pp. 106-123; withdrawn, p. 123; licences recalled, p. 141; Results of, pp. 142, 143

' Defence of our Proposals, A,' p. 12.
 Disaffection, Rumours of, p. 27.
 Dispensing power proposed to be given to Charles, pp. 38, 39; Charles to secure recognition of, p. 66.
 Dissenters, some conform immediately, p. 30.
 Disturbances on St. Bartholomew's Day, p. 29.
 Dover, p. 65.
 Dover, secret Treaty of, pp. 71-73; weighs on conscience of Arlington, p. 115.
 ' Dream of the Cabal, A,' p. 81.
 Duncombe, Sir John, p. 112.

Ejected clergy in 1662, p. 29; Miserable state of, pp. 31, 32.
 Ejection of dissenters before 1662, p. 8.
 Elliel, p. 98.
 Elizabeth, Ecclesiastical policy of, p. 1.
 ' England's Joyfull Holiday,' p. 7.
 Ennis, pp. 74, 75.
 Episcopalian suffer under Cromwell, p. 2.
 " Exceptions against the Liturgy," p. 19.
 Exeter, p. 65.

' Farewell Sermons,' p. 29.
 Fees payable by nonconformists upon release, p. 100.
 Finch, Sir Heneage, p. 108.
 Fire, The great, p. 53.
 Five Mile Act. The, pp. 49, 50.
 Ford, Sir Richard, p. 74.
 ' Fortunate Change, The,' p. 18.
 Fuller, William, Bishop of Lincoln, p. 103.

Gregg, Thomas, p. 31.
 Gilbert, Thomas, p. 97.
 Goldster of Chagford, p. 36.
 Guernsey, p. 102.
 Gunning, Peter, p. 132.

Haggat, Mr., p. 104.
 Hale, Sir Matthew, instructed to draw up a bill for toleration, p. 60.
 Hall, George, Bishop of Chester, rejoices at prosecution of dissenters, p. 54.
 Harley, Sir E., p. 73.
 Henchman, Humphrey, Bishop of London, remains during the plague, p. 48; instructs his clergy to preach against popery, p. 85.

Henry, Philip, indicted for nonconformity, 1660, p. 15; arrested, p. 47; reported to parliament, p. 61; complains of the persecution, p. 73; on the Declaration, p. 88.
 Hereford, p. 41.
 Hern, Sir Nathaniel, p. 53.
 Heyes, reported to parliament, p. 73.
 Heywood, Nathaniel, welcomes return of Charles II, p. 7; driven out by Act of Uniformity, pp. 27, 30; arrested, p. 135; Grief of, at recall of licences, p. 141.
 Heywood, Oliver, harassed by Vicar of Halifax, pp. 104, 135; and recall of licences, p. 141.
 Hicks, Mr., complains to Charles, p. 131.
 Holland, War against, p. 48; Nonconformists suspected of sympathy with, p. 48; War against, p. 80.
 Holles, Sir F., p. 61.
 ' Holy Cheat, The,' p. 18.
 Hook, Dr., harasses nonconformists, p. 104.
 Hotham, Sir J., p. 114.
 Howard, Mr., p. 109.
 Hyde, see Clarendon.
 Hyde, Mr., p. 103.
 ' Humble and gratefull acknowledgment, The,' p. 14.

Independents, Hopes of, p. 2; feud with Presbyterians breaks out again, p. 77; and Declaration, p. 89.
 Indulgence, Rumours of intended, p. 58; see Declaration.
 Informers, Active, p. 32; and perjury, p. 46; active during the plague, p. 49; recognised profession, p. 69; regard the Declaration with dislike, p. 101; renew their trade, 1673, pp. 131, 133, 134; ill-treatment of, p. 138.
 ' Interest of England in the Matter of Religion,' p. 18.
 ' Irenicum, a weapon salve . . . , p. 19.

James I, attitude towards dissent, p. 1.
 James, D. of York, a declared Roman Catholic, pp. 80, 89.
 Jolly, John, summoned before the Council, p. 30; preaches in chapel belonging to the Episcopal Church, p. 31; Devices of, against surprise, p. 52; upon the Declaration, p. 88; detained in the Gatehouse, p. 103; arrested, p. 135.

Justices in doubt as to meaning of the Declaration, p. 133; brought before the Privy Council, p. 136.

Juxon, William, elevated to Canterbury, p. 8.

Kendal, p. 65.

Lake, Sir Edward, p. 101.

Lancashire, Addresses and petitions from, p. 94.

Langley, Dr., p. 97.

Larke, Sampson, pp. 100-101.

Lauderdale, D. of, a member of the Cabal, p. 57; advises Charles to maintain the Declaration, p. 115; proposes to bring the Scottish army across the border, p. 118.

Lawrence, Edward, reported to parliament, p. 61.

'Lecture for all sects . . . , A,' pp. 26, 27.

Lee, Richard, p. 30.

Lee, Sir Thomas, pp. 111, 114.

Leeds, p. 138.

Leominster, p. 52.

Licences issued by Secretaries of State, p. 91; Payments required for, p. 95; for chapels, churches, &c., refused, pp. 96, 97; numbers and how distributed, pp. 98, 99; recalled, p. 141.

Locke, p. 79.

Lords, House of, attempt to make terms of Uniformity Act easier, p. 23; offer amendments to Convention Act, 1670, p. 67; declare against suspending and dispensing power, p. 121; refuse to enter upon dispute with Commons, p. 121; advice to Charles, pp. 122, 123.

Louis XVI concludes Treaty of Dover, pp. 71-73; attitude towards the Declaration, pp. 89, 90, 106, 110, 123.

Love, Alderman, p. 114.

'Loyall Nonconformist, The,' pp. 50, 51.

'Loyall Subject's Lament . . . , The,' p. 21.

Ludlow, Edmund, p. 57.

Lyttleton, Sir Thomas, p. 110.

Manchester, Nonconformists congregate at, p. 131.

Manton, Dr., at Breda, p. 6; consults with Bridgeman concerning comprehension, p. 59; interviews Charles, p. 74.

March, Charles de la, p. 102.

Marchand, Thos., p. 102.

Margate, p. 138.

Martindale, Adam, p. 19.

Marvell, Andrew, attacks Parker, p. 71.

Maynard, p. 109.

Meres, Sir Thomas, pp. 114, 116.

Meeting-houses seized by episcopalians, p. 54; spring up as a result of the Declaration, pp. 95, 96.

Mews, Peter, pp. 97, 98.

Montacute, Peter, p. 41.

Morley, George, Bishop of Winchester, p. 139.

Musgrave, p. 109.

Newbury, Town-hall at, p. 97.

Newcastle, p. 41.

Newcome, Henry, p. 7.

Nonconformists, friends at court, p. 36; petition Charles, p. 36; representatives summoned to court, p. 38; persecuted, p. 43; Meeting-houses of, seized, p. 54; welcome the advent to power of Buckingham and Bridgeman, p. 57; invited to consult concerning toleration, p. 59; reported to parliament for disturbing divine service, p. 61; audience with Charles, p. 62; in despair, p. 73; divided into 'ducklings' and 'dons,' p. 75; accused of receiving bribes, p. 90; return thanks for the Declaration, pp. 92, 93; pardoned, p. 100; Complaints against, for abuse of Declaration, pp. 102, 103; approached for terms of union, p. 139.

Norbury Chapel, pp. 30, 103.

Norham upon Tweed, p. 102.

Norwich, pp. 41, 52.

Orde, Edward, p. 102.

Orleans, Duchess of, p. 71.

Osborne, Sir Thomas, p. 114.

Owen, Dr. John, on the Convention Act, p. 46; thinks of leaving England, p. 52; 'State of the Kingdom . . . , p. 66; attacked by Parker, p. 71 (and note); 'An Account of the Grounds . . . , p. 82; receives donation from Charles, pp. 90, 91.

Oxford, pp. 65, 97.

Oxford Oath, p. 49.

Parker, Samuel, Bishop of Oxford, attacks Owen and is answered by Marvell, p. 71.

Parliament, order 'touching quieting Possessions,' p. 9; discuss bill for 'Maintenance of the true reformed Protestant Religion,' p. 10; New, elected 1661, p. 20; rejects bill to grant Charles dispensing power, p. 39; forbids introduction of measures for toleration, p. 61; discusses possibility of uniting all protestants, p. 61; discusses new Conventicle Act, p. 62; refuses to sanction conference of episcopalians and nonconformists, p. 62; leading speakers support theory of toleration, p. 66; attacks the Declaration, p. 108; declares against suspending power, p. 109; petitions Charles against the Declaration, pp. 110, 111; discusses question of toleration, pp. 111, 112, 113, 114; resolves to bring in bill for relief of protestant dissenters, p. 112; discusses Charles's answer to the petition, pp. 116, 117; replies to King's answer, pp. 117, 118; receives news of withdrawal of the Declaration, p. 123; proceeds with bill for relief of protestants, pp. 125, 126; passes the Test Act, p. 127.

Pawlet, Mr., p. 104.

Pell, William, p. 103.

Penn, William, the case of, p. 69.

Perchard, Daniel, p. 102.

Persecution commences, 1660, p. 8; General, of Quakers, p. 17; keen while parliament sits 1661, p. 24; felt to be useless, p. 33; slackens, 1663, p. 39; juries intimidated, p. 43; perjury to secure convictions, p. 46; severe, p. 47; greatest in 1670-1671, pp. 68, 69; renewed, 1673, pp. 131, 132.

'Petition for peace and concord,' p. 19.

'Petition, Humble, of several ministers . . . , p. 36.

Pike, Thomas, p. 102.

Pinner's Hall, p. 97.

Plague, the, Clergy flee during, p. 48.

Plots, Rumours of, pp. 22, 44; at Farnley Wood, p. 44.

Powle, Mr., p. 116.

Prayer Book, Revision of, p. 20.

Presbyterianism, Attempt to establish, p. 2.

Presbyterians help to restore Charles II, p. 2; appointed royal chaplains, p. 9; offered preferments, p. 15; feud with Independents breaks out afresh, p. 97.

'Present Interest of England stated,' p. 83 (and note).

Proclamation against disturbance of ecclesiastical possessions, p. 8; prohibiting unlawful and seditious meetings, p. 16; ordering Jesuits to leave the kingdom, p. 123.

Protestants, Foreign, in England, p. 1.

Puritans made the subject of jest, p. 7.

Quakers, Tenets of, p. 3 (and notes); 'Declaration from the . . . , p. 16; in prison, p. 24; released by Charles, 1662, p. 36; and the Declaration, pp. 89, 99, 100.

'Queries upon the Declaration,' p. 88.

Reading, p. 100.

'Recantation of a Penitent Proteus, The,' p. 30.

'Resurrection of Lazarus, The,' p. 88.

Reynolds, Edward, at Breda, p. 6; made Bishop of Norwich, p. 16; preaches toleration, p. 54.

Robarts, Lord, blamed by Clarendon as author of indulgence, 1662, p. 37; introduces a bill to give effect to indulgence, pp. 38, 39.

Robinson, Sir John, Lord Mayor of London, p. 39.

Roman Catholics, Hopes of, in 1660, p. 4; rarely prosecuted, p. 53.

'Room for News,' p. 107.

Sandwich, p. 65.

Savoy Conference, pp. 18-20.

Shaftesbury, Earl of, p. 10; averse to persecution, p. 37; religious views, p. 56; Memorial of, on decay of land-rents and trade, p. 64; held responsible by many for the Declaration, pp. 79, 80: advises Charles to summon parliament, 1673, p. 106; protests against unworthy suspicions of Charles, p. 107; advises Charles not to revoke the Declaration, p. 115; tries to win over the House of Lords, pp. 118-123; supports the Test Act, p. 128.

Shakerley, Sir George, pp. 102, 103.
 Sheldon, Gilbert, becomes Bishop of London, p. 8; orders Dr. Bates and Dr. Jacomb to read the Common Prayer, p. 15; demands a written statement of Presbyterian objections to the Liturgy, p. 19; favourably receives the King's proviso, p. 23; complains of schismatic preachers in East India Company's service, p. 33; opposes indulgence, 1662, p. 37; condemns Charles's declaration, 1662, p. 38; remains at his post during the plague, p. 48; asks for returns concerning ejected clergy, p. 49; promotes the Five Mile Act, p. 49; sends out letters stirring up bishops and clergy, p. 58; gives entertainment ridiculing dissenters, pp. 58, 59; rejoices at parliament's enactments, p. 61; instructs clergy to preach against the Declaration, p. 85; rallies the bishops, pp. 106, 121; rejoices at the failure of the bill for relief, p. 127.

Shirley, Sir Robert, p. 136.

Slade, p. 135.

Solemn League and Covenant declared illegal, p. 121.

Sterling, Lord Mayor of London, p. 73.

Stillingfleet, Dr. Edward, p. 90.

Strangewāys, Colonel, p. 114.

Stratford, Nicholas, Dean of Manchester, p. 102.

Stubbs, Henry, p. 32.

Test Act, The, p. 128.

Thomson, Alexander, p. 104.

Thruston, Jchn, p. 54.

Titmarsh, Mr., p. 98.

Titus, Colonel, p. 108.

Toleration, Cromwell on, p. 2; Circumstances of the Restoration not favourable to, p. 4; promised from Breda, p. 6; at will of magistrates, p. 15; Hopes of, 1663, p. 39; Bridgeman's scheme for, p. 59; Sir Matthew Hale to draw up a bill for toleration, p. 60; Rumours of toleration, 1671, p. 74.

Toxteth Park, p. 98.

Uffington, p. 41.

Uniformity, Act for, introduced p. 22; severity of terms, p. 25; takes effect on St. Bartholomew's Day, p. 28; farewell sermons, pp. 28, 29; Number of ministers silenced by, p. 30; enforced outside England, p. 33; effects of, pp. 33-35.

Union of Protestants, Meeting to consider terms of, p. 9; Charles asked to call a synod for the, p. 10.

Venner's revolt, p. 16.

Verney, Sir R., p. 109.

Vincent, Thomas, p. 74.

Waller, Edmund, pp. 108, 112.

Wallis, Ralph, 'Room for the Cobbler of Gloucester,' p. 63; attacks episcopalians, p. 68 (note).

Walton, Bryan, Bishop of Chester, p. 70.

Watson, Thomas, p. 74.

Whalley, Peter, p. 133.

Whately, Mr., p. 102.

Whitchurch, p. 131.

Whitaker, William, p. 74.

Wilde, Dr. Robert, 'Poem upon the Imprisonment of Mr. Calamy,' p. 42; 'The Loyall Nonconformist,' pp. 50, 51; 'Humble Thanks for . . . Declaration,' p. 86.

Wilkins, Dr., to treat with nonconformists, p. 59.

Williamson, Sir Joseph, pp. 74, 75, 78, 91, 97, 103.

Wright, John, p. 101.

Yarmouth, pp. 41, 52, 54, 138.

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